A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

THE LAST DAYS OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

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AN OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF OUTER SPACE

THE GENERALS, THE POLITICIANS, THE PEOPLE—REPORT FROM GUATEMALA

SHENZHEN—A STATE WITHIN A STATE

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

In the early years of Soviet power, an incident, both amusing and sad, occurred in Kirghizia. A young girl, employed as a messenger in a local office, being unable to write, used her fingerprint in lieu of her signature. One day it was noticed that she had begun to use a different finger for this purpose. What had happened? It turned out that she had married and her surname had changed.

The incident was not untypical for that period. When the revolution took place, the majority of the population of Russia "signed with their fingers." And in the outlying non-Russian areas total illiteracy was practically the rule.

As early as November 1917 the Soviet government set the task of introducing universal, compulsory education free of charge, beginning with the abolition of illiteracy. But how was this to be done at a time when the country was in the throes of civil war, intervention, economic dislocation and hunger? The simplest things were lacking—pens, ink, copybooks. Yet the thirst for knowledge won the day, prompted ingenious ways out. Instead of pencils, charcoal and strips of lead were used. Ink was made out of soot, beetroot and cranberry juice. The writing was done on boards, painted walls and tables, or directly on the snow or the ground. Old papers from local archives were used in place of copybooks.

By 1921 some 200,000 people were enlisted in the campaign to end illiteracy. The country was learning to read and write. The photos on this page are typical of that time: faces expressive of total concentration, hands more accustomed to wielding scythes and sledgehammers awkwardly tracing the outlines of letters. In the first three years of Soviet power some 7 million people learned to read and write.

The revolution not only awakened an unprecedented desire for learning among Russia's millions. Having abolished property and other barriers to education, it opened the road to knowledge for hundreds of talented young men and women. A whole pleiad of young writers who had gone through the civil war burst into the literary firmament, men like Lavrenev, Sholokhov, Leonov, Fadeyev, bringing with them a fresh language, novel subject matter, new heroes. Today the names of these writers are the pride of our literature.

A worker.

Learning to read and write.

A 1920 poster.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

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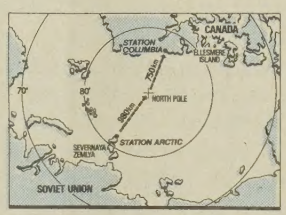
Guatemala. Three quarters of its population live in poverty.



The route of the planned Soviet-Canadian Arctic expedition.

On March 1, 1945, President Roosevelt told Congress about the Yalta Conference.

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THE SHENZHEN EXPERIMENT

How is China implementing its policy of economic renewal and more extensive contacts with the outside world! Read our report from the Shenzhen special economic zone often called "a state within a state."

Virtually unknown only seven years ago, today Shenzhen is an extremely promising up-to-date industrial centre.

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

●

The American scientist who has challenged the U.S. military-industrial complex by going on hunger strike next to the White House is thousands of miles from my little town in the heart of the Soviet Union. But I would like him to know that the cause of peace for which he is making this sacrifice is the greatest single imperative for Soviet people as well. To myself (I am a Kazakh) and my family, as, I am sure, to every Soviet citizen, Charles Hyder is a symbol of the unshakable conviction that wars need not be part of our lives. For as long as people like Charles Hyder exist, it is possible to believe this.

SALIM UTENOV
Aktyubinsk, U.S.S.R.

●

Some time ago, Argentinian TV networks showed a programme on Afghanistan in which the enemies of the Afghan people seemed almost saintly. The whole thing was a masterpiece of propaganda designed to make viewers believe that the Afghans are the victims of "Soviet genocide." I think people should be given accurate information to offset, to some extent at least, the daily fare of lies to which we are exposed.

JOSE MARIA NOGUEIRA
Buenos Aires, Argentina

●

The United States is intent on constantly expanding the sphere of its "national interests" by committing itself to nuclear weapons. But any sensible person can easily see what the likely outcome of such policy must be. One would have to be mad to think SDI can provide a reliable defence. It is doubtful that the existing parity between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. would be upset. The American side must come to realize this while there is still time.

GEORGI BULATOV
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

EDITORIAL

POLITICS NON GRATA

Paris is the recognized arbiter of fashion. Alas, this claim made by admirers of Christian Dior and Yves Saint-Laurent does not apply to French foreign policy. Indeed, the military adventure in Chad, the extremely erratic approach to nuclear disarmament, and other examples can hardly be classified as original, or still less as meriting imitation.

Today the retro style in world politics is sweeping Paris. The latest instance is afforded by brazen arbitrariness and blackmail with respect to the Soviet citizen Lyudmila Variguina (Verdier), as also by the decision to expel several Soviet representatives on completely unfounded charges of "space spying."

It seems as if some circles in Paris are itching for the laurels won by Washington's and London's political pace-setters when they tried not long ago, again by means of spy mania, to impair relations with the U.S.S.R. and belittle its prestige. But the attempt boomeranged, for their prestige and diplomatic representation in the U.S.S.R. were seriously undercut in the tit-for-tat "expulsion war."

The French explanation of the current anti-Soviet manoeuvres is absurd, to say the least. The Soviet Union is celebrating the 30th anniversary of sputnik, setting up orbital space stations, proposing that foreign partners participate in highly complex space experiments, and offering a whole range of booster rockets to propel foreign artificial earth satellites into orbit. It is now accused of attempting to steal the secrets of the West European Ariane rocket. Indeed, a farce is being enacted in Paris under the rubric "Teacher Apes Pupil." Yet it was not a Soviet cosmonaut who was invited to go up in a French spaceship, nor, indeed, were the French satellites generously fitted out with Soviet instruments. On the contrary, it was French specialists who benefited from our achievements, which they complemented with their own contribution to international cooperation in space. Now they are trying to destroy this cooperation, even though it is detrimental to France's own national interests.

It is easy enough to perceive the main objective of the provocation —and provocation is what it is— engineered in Paris. Increasing scepticism is being voiced in the West about the charges of human rights violations, schemes to drive a wedge between Europe and the U.S., and other deadly sins, levelled at the Soviet Union. Our bold and innovative foreign policy, and the growing renewal and increasing openness at home are shattering stereotype notions of the U.S.S.R. In response, conservative and reactionary elements in France too are looking for ways of discrediting the Soviet approach to external and internal affairs if not of effectively countering it.

Regrettably, ruling circles in France are still motivated by a policy of confrontation, instead of exploring the new way of thinking. Without new approaches it will be impossible to remove the accumulated mistrust, suspicion and complex outstanding issues.

The participation of Paris in the East-West dialogue presupposes extensive contacts with the Soviet Union. However, as the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs stressed in its note of protest, the present action by the French authorities is completely at odds with their official avowals that they desire to promote relations with the Soviet Union on a constructive basis.

THE OTHER BRITAIN

ALEXANDER LEBEDEV and VLADIMIR OREL

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain recently paid an official visit to the Soviet Union. The visit was preceded, a week earlier, by a trip to Britain by a delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee on the invitation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). It is not our intention here to draw parallels between the two visits. This article is about something else. As we listened to the British Premier's statements in Moscow and compared them with our still fresh impressions of our discussions with the British, we could not help but draw the conclusion that there were two Britains—a Britain that clings to the nuclear warhead as if to a life buoy, and a Britain that sees its salvation in consigning the nuclear sword to the rubbish dump. A Britain still nostalgic for its bygone might and a Britain that seeks to assert its authority as a great power by setting a good example in disarmament. In other words, there is a Britain that sticks to old concepts, and a Britain that is working its way towards a new political thinking.

* * *

At the end of the 18th century, the great British satirist Henry Fielding vividly depicted a fist fight between a collection of worthy gentlemen and drew a philosophical conclusion from the scene (though without much hope of posterity ever following his advice, as he confessed in his famous "History of Tom Jones, a Foundling"). He suggested that all disputes, international included, be settled in honest small-scale fights with the only weapons used being those with which nature has endowed us.

It looks as if shoots of new political thinking had sprouted as early as that, albeit tentatively and only in the minds of outstanding thinkers. The formula "new political thinking" is little short of being the most popular phrase in Britain. New political thinking was the subject of a seminar arranged by CND in connection with our arrival.

The seminar lasted several hours and was attended by CND leaders, representatives of the Labour, Liberal and Communist parties and the big trades unions, Pax Christi, various church peace groups, and other organizations.

As they reflected on new thinking in the nuclear age, our English interlocutors often mentioned restructuring and openness, saying these words in Russian: perestroika, glasnost.

Incidentally, it was in London that Mikhail Gorbachev first mentioned the need for new political thinking in the nuclear age, addressing British MPs in December 1984. Over the two years since then this Soviet approach to the problems of world politics has been backed up by the important internal processes initiated in our country.

As one talks with the British one senses that the dynamism of Soviet society today, its trend towards increasing openness, our far-reaching economic reforms, our people's newfound lack of constraint (not to be confused with laxity) have all added enormously to their interest in, and sympathy for, our foreign policy moves, which are now getting much wider support from the most diverse quarters.

Our British hosts were greatly impressed by Mikhail Gorbachev's comments at the Moscow forum to the effect that in our time a world war had ceased to be an extention of politics by different means and that it was necessary to discard the doctrine of nuclear deterrence.

Margaret Thatcher takes a different view. She is convinced (and made this abundantly clear in Moscow) that the world owes the four decades of stable peace after WWII above all to nuclear weapons. Many of Thatcher's fellow countrymen do not share this belief. CND has issued a witty pamphlet entitled, "Seven Deadly Myths About Nuclear Weapons." Myth No. 1 is that the atomic bomb has safeguarded peace in Europe for forty years. It is a myth, the authors of the pamphlet say, because it cannot be proved that Europe's salvation lay in this and not some other factor.

In any case, the existence of nuclear weapons has not in itself prevented dozens of bloody wars outside Europe, although some of the belligerents did possess such weapons.

It is on record, the pamphlet says with reason, that far from preventing wars the arms race—no matter what kind of arms are in question—makes them more horrible and devastating still.

It is not weapons or fear of their destructive power that should prevent wars. Peace can be guaranteed only by the assertion in international politics of entirely new approaches to settling disputes, and new norms of conduct in thrashing out international differences. Most of the Britons we met reasoned this way and rejected outright the myth of nuclear deterrence.

Public opinion polls have revealed, we were told, that over 40 per cent of Britons want nuclear weapons scrapped. Still more of them—about 60 per cent—object to plans for the modernization and buildup of British nuclear arsenals through the purchase of Trident 2s from the United States, and are against the deployment of American cruise missiles on British soil. True, the polls also show something else, though this depends on how the questions are worded. About two thirds of Britain's population as against three quarters some years ago still advocate maintaining its nuclear status.

Still, myths are extremely tenacious. One of them is that nuclear weaponry is an inalienable attribute of a great power. The prospect of withdrawing from the "nuclear club" is as awesome to certain establishment gentlemen as that of being expelled from their own clubs with ignominy. The discarding of nuclear weapons is regarded as tantamount to the loss of an empire.

* * *

We tried to find out whether new political thinking meant the same thing to the British and to ourselves. The overwhelming majority of those we talked with proved to interpret it in a very similar—if not identical—way to ours. At least when we discussed the need to cast the concept of nuclear deterrence aside and rule out the use of force, coercion, threats, suppression and the blackmail of military superiority from the practice of international relations, no one objected.

This did not mean of course that our hosts accepted without reservation all aspects of Soviet foreign and home policy or completely shared our approach to the solution of pressing international problems.

Most of the people we spoke with were highly critical of the Thatcher government's stand on the nuclear arms issue, particularly her intention to increase their stockpiles many times over, and her attitude to the American SDI project, and queried the sincerity of

the Conservative cabinet's professed intention to have all nuclear tests stopped as early as possible.

At the same time we sometimes heard the reproach that the Soviet military units stationed in Central Europe produce an "aggressive" impression, and that there is an "imbalance" in various kinds of armaments. The suggestion was made, for instance, that we withdraw two or three divisions from the G.D.R. as a gesture of good will.

* * *

While discussing the concept of new political thinking, we could not possibly ignore another classic myth—I mean

The cover of the booklet "Seven Deadly Myths about Nuclear Weapons."

the "enemy image." In the British Isles the enemy is commonly identified with the Soviets. This is probably one of the most tenacious stereotypes of the old thinking. Nevertheless, it is undergoing a mutation, which we sensed. Our perestroika unquestionably has an important role to play here.

I cannot help recalling the fact that fairly recently, at meetings of Soviet public figures with their West European partners, representatives from the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament included, we spent hours not on discussing anti-war actions, but on debating human rights in the U.S.S.R. and the closed character of Soviet society.

Today these issues have been relegated to the background, if not crossed off the agenda. Now the policy of the U.S.S.R.—and consequently, what its representatives say—is given much greater credence than in the recent past. One CND leader remarked that it was absurd to picture the Soviet Union as a recidivist to be constantly tried and punished (still common practice in the West).

Stereotypes and myths are enduring, of course, and the West's policy of confrontation gives birth to new and malicious parodies of life in the Soviet Union.

This problem has sprouted a new dimension. One of the talking points of British and other Western political circles and mass media is whether perestroika is beneficial to the West and if it is better to deal with an intelligent, dynamic, progressive and broad-minded Soviet leadership.

In Westminster, we discussed this with a Conservative MP. There is a belief, he said, that a Soviet Union that has discarded obsolete ideas in politics and economics is dangerous to the West —not militarily, but ideologically and politically.

Be that as it may, he said, those who would prefer the U.S.S.R. to stagnate, and successfully compete with the West in the military sphere alone, may predominate in the U.S., but not in Britain or elsewhere in Western Europe, where other attitudes prevail.

"Is this true of the Conservative Party?" we asked.

"Without any doubt," the MP replied.

We were not entirely sure about that, although Margaret Thatcher herself tried to reassure us in Moscow. To listen to certain Tory leaders (and their counterparts on the continent) one would think their only concern was the Soviet people's well-being in the Western sense of the word. In their opinion, this "well-being" directly depends on the "hardness" of London's and its partners' line with regard to the U.S.S.R.

One can only hope that influential circles in the West get down as soon as possible to restructuring their thinking in this respect, give up their habit of attempting to refashion us on their model, and revise their stand on the pressing issues of disarmament and international security.

* * *

Nevertheless, there are some indications of a change for the better. In Britain, they are especially pronounced in the programme of the Labour Party, which has approved a non-nuclear defence policy.

Martin O'Neil, deputy shadow defence minister, elaborated on this stand, which provides for giving up Polaris, cancelling plans to purchase Tridents from the U.S., and for the withdrawal of American cruise and other missiles from the country. Non-nuclear U.S. bases and other installations are to be retained, and the allocations for nuclear forces to be channelled into improving conventional weapons and increasing Britain's contribution to NATO.

The new thinking is meeting with vigorous resistance. The Tories are trying to present Labour's defence programme as irresponsible. For its part, Washington openly expressed its disapproval of Labour's anti-nuclear stand during Neil Kinnock's and Denis Healey's recent visit. Nevertheless, they vigorously upheld their stand.

Authoritative Labour leaders say that such a programme will neither win nor lose them votes, as the election campaign will hinge on social and economic issues and, moreover, it is believed that Labour's policy will win increased support in the long term.

We are in no position, of course, to judge the extent to which the Labour Party's anti-nuclear stand is supported in the country—in the final analysis poll returns are never conclusive. In any event, most of the people we met were for rather than against its stand on defence.

For this reason, we were perplexed by the statements on nuclear issues Margaret Thatcher made in Moscow on behalf of the British people. (It was not for nothing that after her Soviet television appearance Moscow wits dubbed her the nuclear rather than the Iron Lady). It would hardly be fair or correct to present her personal adherence and that of those who think like her to nuclear deterrence as a concensus of British public opinion. Consider, for instance, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Incidentally, when speaking of CND, Conservative leaders give it to be understood that it reflects the views of an insignificant proportion of the population. This is a classic case of wishful thinking.

* * *

CND is a mass movement with a membership of a quarter of a million, which actually involves many more people from all walks of life and different political persuasions. In the movement we met not only Labour Party members, but Liberals, Greens, Communists, Scottish and Welsh nationalists, non-party men, prominent trades unions leaders, churchmen,

scientists, doctors and artists. Founded in 1958, it went from strength to strength in the early sixties, to be followed by a dramatic loss of influence in the seventies. In the eighties, when the British public became particularly sensitive to the nuclear threat following the deployment of American cruise missiles in 1983, the movement stirred again into vigorous action. It drew hundreds of thousands of people, sometimes up to a million, to demonstrations and meetings.

Obviously, the broadening of the movement's influence is due to a change in the Labour Party's stance; in that period it adopted a programme of unilateral nuclear disarmament—under the direct influence of the CND, we were told.

The movement supports this stance but is also sceptical. The manifesto adopted by the annual Labour conference in 1986, it claims, departs, on certain points, from the comparable document endorsed two years before.

What is it that elicits CND's criticism? As distinct from the Labour party, CND is opposed to Britain's participation in nuclear blocs, meaning NATO. True, Labour is pledged to work for the revision of the NATO doctrine, towards its denuclearization, i.e., for an obligation not to be first to use nuclear weapons, and a shift of emphasis to conventional weapons. Nevertheless, CND goes further than that—it calls for the blocs to be replaced by universal security system.

CND also points to the fact that the Labour manifesto does not condemn the old cliché of the Soviet Union being the "enemy." Neither does it say that a non-nuclear world is the ultimate objective. And still, there is no doubting the fact that CND relies chiefly on the Labour Party and the trades unions. About 120 members of Parliament belong to CND—Labour MPs for the most part, plus some Liberals and representatives of the Welsh and Scottish nationalist parties.

The leaders of the movement told us that at the coming elections CND activists would campaign vigorously for candidates who, whatever their party affiliation, come out for nuclear disarmament.

* * *

The elections cropped up time and again in our conversations, often in the light of Mrs Thatcher's visit to the U.S.S.R. We were even surprised at how touchy British peace campaigners were about the visit. They said outright that the Tory leadership would do its utmost to exploit the results in their party's interests. They feared that the British Foreign Minister would try to avoid discussing the urgent issue of the British nuclear potential which CND wants abolished. They were distressed by recent claims from government circles that Moscow preferred "to do business" with a Tory cabinet.

Not being diplomats, we took the liberty of voicing some personal opinions, hoping that we would not be accused of interfering in the election campaign. More specifically, as we are fully aware of the Soviet leadership's commitment to nuclear disarmament, we said we were quite sure that regardless of the Tory cabinet's intentions, nuclear issues would figure prominently at the Moscow talks. We were proved right.

As for the fate of the British, as well as the French, nuclear potential, not to mention the periodic "Eurobomb" projects, the Soviet public attitude is clear. Regardless of the stage and forum at which the diplomats would deem it suitable to discuss the future of the British nuclear potential, we want it abolished for the same reason that we also seek in principle the universal elimination of nuclear weapons, our own included. The Tory cabinet's attempts to pretend that talks on radical cuts in nuclear arms have no bearing on Britain, and that its potential is "untouchable," are illogical and unconvincing.

As for which of Britain's leading parties the Soviet public sympathizes with, these sympathies, regardless of the ideological aspect, derive above all from the actual policy pursued, be it by the Conservatives, Labour, the Liberals or the Social Democrats.

After all, it was Britain's first postwar Attlee-Bevin Labour government that decided to develop a British nuclear arsenal. Equally incontrovertible is the fact that Tory leader Harold Macmillan played, by and large, an energetic and positive part in drafting and concluding the 1963 treaty for a nuclear test ban in three spheres.

Since then Labour's nuclear policy has come a long way—with the reservation, of course, that it is an opposition party. The Tory government tenaciously clings to the concept of nuclear deterrence and is inactive with regard to efforts to secure a total nuclear test ban and other disarmament measures.

At any rate, one thing was, we felt, beyond question. If Mrs Thatcher's Moscow visit could indeed affect the general election—so far the date has not been fixed and it is presumed that it will be held either in May, June, or October—then it must reflect a very important factor of our time.

Today's judgement of political leaders and parties depends more than ever on how responsibly they act in international affairs, and what they can do to ensure peace. This, understandably, enhances the role of the public, and increases chances of expanding "détente from below."

The Soviet Union presents a fine example here, inasmuch as many ideas suggested at different times by the public, including Western movements and personalities, were subsequently incorporated in the proposals put forward by the Soviet leadership.

* * *

Before leaving London, we were told that the CND leadership had planned to mandate Margaret Thatcher to negotiate on nuclear weapons and the ending of the arms race. According to the news media, this was done.

It is not for us to say to what extent the British leadership implemented this public mandate. However, taking advantage of its standing as a prestigious Soviet non-government organization, Soviet Peace Committee, in its turn, authorized a representative delegation, led by Committee Chairman Genrikh Borovik, to see Margaret Thatcher in Moscow and inform her of the Soviet public's position.

* * *

We have yet to see to what extent the leadership of a country that is so proud of its deep-rooted parliamentary traditions, and so willing to share with other peoples, especially those of the Soviet Union, its expertise in democratic decision taking, even in the field of foreign policy, is prepared to heed the views of the public at home and abroad.

"Do not succumb to the seven deadly myths," concludes the booklet mentioned at the beginning of this article. It could well be that there are more than just seven deadly myths. In Britain, we saw how meaningful encounters and conversations can be. They have helped disperse the myths and shatter the stereotypes that seem so firmly ensconced in British minds and—why hide it?—in our own minds as well.

London-Moscow

U.S.A.—
NICARAGUA

Provocative Solid Shield

● THE U.S. SENATE HAS APPROVED BY AN INSIGNIFICANT MAJORITY THE TRANSFER OF $40 MILLION TO THE NICARAGUAN CONTRAS.

This is the last portion of the $100 million allocated by the Reagan administration last summer. The CIA is already dispatching artillery, ground-to-air missiles and other heavy weapons to the contras. It is furnishing the armed groups infiltrating Nicaragua with intelligence concerning installations scheduled for demolition. The contras are ordered to blow up bridges, dams, power stations, electric transmission lines, telephone exchanges and port structures.

At daybreak on March 19 the contras attacked the village of Bocay in Jinotega department and looted Monterrey cooperative farm 10 kilometres from the town of Asturias. Three days earlier a powerful explosion in Managua at night demolished a support of the electric transmission line in the district of Domitila Lugo.

In its evening programme on March 26 television showed a funeral of the victims of contras raids. Sobbing widows and relatives were seen mourning the deaths of nine employees of the Carlos Fonseca timber mills, whom the contras had mowed down in an ambush.

The present acts of terror were evidently timed for the Pegaso 87 exercise of U.S. and Honduran troops that began on April 1 in Honduras near the border with Nicaragua. Next month the Pentagon plans to extend the war games zone from Honduras to the U.S. base of Guantanamo in Cuba and Vieques Island near Puerto Rico. The Solid Shield manoeuvres are to involve aircraft carriers and other warships as well as more than 50,000 servicemen. In a Nueva Nicaragua Agency interview, U.S. Admiral Gene La Rocque (Ret.) stressed the extreme danger of these exercises which in the view of this leading military expert would appear to serve as a prelude to an invasion of Nicaragua.

Washington is continuing with its provocations. A few days ago the U.S. embassy in Managua arranged for representatives of right-wing opposition parties to meet U.S. Colonel Jose Muratti, an expert on Latin America. The Washington administration, he said, will not even consider peaceful coexistence with the Sandinists unless the Nicaraguan government complies with the U.S. demand to negotiate with the contras and change the country's system.

The Managuan public received this news with disgust. Luis Sanchez, a Nicaraguan Socialist Party MP, said: "It is to be regretted that an

"My head's spinning. Some say Russia is terribly backward, others that we are lagging terribly behind it."

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

ideologue of U.S. imperialism should come to Nicaragua to justify the policy of aggression against our country, and it is shameful that some Nicaraguan politicians consent to be involved in such undertakings."

Our own correspondent

Managua

F.R.G.

Social Democrats' defeat

● ELECTIONS TO THE HESSE LANDTAG CULMINATED IN A CRUSHING DEFEAT FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

As the Christian Democrats and Free Democrats now have two seats more than the Social Democrats and the Greens, Hesse will have a coalition government headed by CDU Federal Minister for Environment Walter Wallmann.

The elections have resulted in a severe defeat for the Social Democrats. Hesse was regarded as their stronghold as they had headed the local government since the end of the war. True, in most cases they had had to ally themselves with other parties, as for instance, with the Greens over the past 14 months.

Democratic forces saw Hesse as a counterweight to the bourgeois coalition ruling in Bonn. They regarded the Social Democrats-Greens alliance as a model, which, given the appropriate circumstances, could be emulated in the other lands. It also provided a guideline for a new nationwide political majority.

The closer relationship between the Social Democrats and the Greens greatly disturbed the right-wing parties. The right-wing news media contended that the "red-green danger" would inevitably cause "economic chaos." In fact, the economic situation in Hesse is better in many respects than in the other lands. The level of unemployment is somewhat lower than the national average, while labour productivity and average earnings are higher. Its government managed to implement some albeit rather modest measures in the interests of the working population. Still, the Hesse coalition broke up a few months before the landtag elections due to a clash over nuclear energy.

Hesse has several enterprises that manufacture fuel for atomic power plants. Oddly enough, though they have been operating for some years, they do so without the appropriate permission from the authorities. Experts have repeatedly voiced grave doubts as to their safety. All these enterprises are in Hanau, next door to Frankfort's international airport and three U.S. military airfields. Any air disaster here—which cannot be ruled out—would result in the radioactive contamination of densely populated regions. One enterprise, ALKEM, produces plutonium, which can be used not only as atomic power plant fuel, but also as an element in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Hence the Greens have been resolutely pressing for the abolition of this enterprise. The Communists emphasize that "it is first of all necessary to terminate plutonium enrichment to preclude every possibility of F.R.G. revanchists ever realizing their old dream of having their own atomic bomb."

Although last autumn the Social Democrats also opposed plutonium production in the F.R.G., last January Hesse's Social Democrat Economics Minister Ulrich Steger promised the federal government that ALKEM would be issued with the permit it so desperately needs. The Greens naturally lambasted Steger. In reply, Hesse's Premier Holger Börner sacked Joschka Fischer, the Greens Environment Minister. The coalition collapsed and preterm elections were announced.

That, however, did not prevent Hesse's Social Democrats from subsequently calling on the Federal Constitutional Court to ban plutonium production in Hanau. Though they had broken off their alliance with the Greens at the drop of a hat, they nevertheless favoured continuing the alliance after the elections were over.

This contradictory behaviour could not but affect the electoral attitude to the Social Democrats. By comparison with 1983 they lost 6 per cent of the vote, their worst showing since the end of the war. On the contrary, the Greens, who despite their clashes with the Social Democrats, sought to go on cooperating with them, gained considerable ground, with 9.4 per cent of the total vote, or 3.5 per cent more than at the previous landtag elections. However, this was not enough to bring about a "red-green" coalition government.

The Hesse election results reflect the overall crisis that has hit the Social Democratic Party and resulted in the recent resignation of its chairman, Willy Brandt. According to Willy Brandt, though the party's right wing does not have the majority, it is trying to alter the party line as charted at its convention in Nuremberg. The Hesse debacle will undoubtedly exacerbate the intra-party wrangle. What direction will the SDP take now? Will it continue with the political line drafted in Nuremberg as an alternative to the conservative course of Bonn's ruling coalition? Will it seek alliance with other forces left of the Christian Democrats? Or will it, on the contrary, back down from Nuremberg by gradually conceding points and seeking rapprochement with the bourgeois parties? The party's emergency convention in June is to provide the answer.

ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Bonn

GREECE—TURKEY

The roots of the crisis

● WE WERE REMINDED RECENTLY OF THAT HOTBED OF TENSION IN THE AEGEAN SEA, WHICH HAS NOW BEEN SMOULDERING FOR OVER A DECADE.

The still unadjusted demarcation of the continental shelf in the Aegean Sea is the formal cause of the latest flare-up between Greece and Turkey. Athens and Ankara reached the verge of armed conflict, and there was a very real threat that international security would be upset in the highly sensitive Eastern Mediterranean region.

This naturally caused well-founded anxiety in the Soviet Union and other neighbouring states. Moscow urged the Greek and Turkish governments to avoid any action that could complicate the situation. It voiced the hope that by displaying good will the two sides could settle their disputes by peaceful means.

Athens and Ankara must be credited for having remained in control, shown restraint and made efforts to normalize the situation. At a briefing on April 2 for Soviet and foreign newsmen, a U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed satisfaction in this connection and said that Greece had made a positive move in proposing to submit the continental

shelf issue to the International Court of Justice for consideration.

The examination of the issue by such a prestigious body as the International Court of Justice, which has accumulated considerable expertise in helping states resolve similar problems, would serve to settle the differences without external pressure and in strict accordance with the norms of international law. It will be recalled that the U.N. Security Council also noted the advisability of taking the expertise of the International Court of Justice into consideration, when in August 1976 it debated a similar Greco-Turkish incident over the rights of the two sides to exploit the natural wealth of the Aegean Sea's continental shelf.

For the time being the crisis would appear to have been resolved. The immediate threat to peace in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans has been averted. So is it worth again drawing notice to the conflict?

The answer would appear to be yes, to see who is really to blame for this flare-up of hostility in the Aegean Sea, clarify who is preventing the tension from abating and why. In his March 27 statement the Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou directly charged the United States with responsibility for the crisis.

It would, of course, be naive to think that the White House wants a war between Greece and Turkey, as this would cause NATO's south-eastern flank to collapse. Washington has other ideas in mind. Latterly it has shown increasing dissatisfaction with the independence Athens has been displaying in matters of foreign policy, the Greek leadership's unequivocal advocacy of disarmament and the preservation and amplification of arms control treaties, as well as its resistance to plans to extend the arms race to outer space.

There are wry grimaces in Washington whenever the leaders of the Delhi Six, among whom the Greek Prime Minister is active, make a new bid for peace. Washington is clearly irritated by Papandreou's positive assessment of Soviet peace initiatives and the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union. Finally, it is angered by Athens' refusal to provide guarantees for the continued presence of U.S. bases in Greece, its demand for the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons, and its unwillingness to participate in militaristic preparations against the socialist countries.

In the U.S. news media there is an outpouring of abuse whenever the Greek government is mentioned. Speeches encouraging the continued occupation of northern Cyprus are again heard. The U.S. is openly threatening to curtail military assistance to Greece.

However, this has all boomeranged. The latest anti-Greek campaign has only reaffirmed Greece's determination to disentangle itself from the web of U.S. military installations and nuclear weapons and consolidate national security. The Greek government has declared that it has every intention of proceeding with its independent peaceful foreign policy, and actively contributing to peace and disarmament, including efforts in connection with the six-nation initiative.

GEORGI SHAPOVALOV

CHAD

Operation Epervier

● LE MONDE OF PARIS HAS MADE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE ANTI-SOVIET SMEAR CAMPAIGN CURRENTLY BEING INCITED BY CERTAIN QUARTERS IN FRANCE.

It has reported that the forces fighting the Hissene Habré regime are using various weapons of Soviet make. It sees this as ostensible proof of Soviet intervention in the conflict in Chad and of Moscow's imperialist designs on Africa in general.

We have been reading about "red" intentions to colonize the "dark continent" in the French right-wing press over many years. The aim of the current Le Monde article is to divert the eye of the public in France and worldwide from the dramatic escalation of French intervention in the Chad conflict, with, moreover, U.S. connivance. Indeed, on March 10, French President François Mitterrand told a Paris news conference outright that French "aid" for the N'Djamena regime was increasing from month to month and that settlement in Chad would depend on armed force in the first place.

Besides being an admission of growing interference, this statement has unambiguously prodded the Habré regime to reject a negotiated settlement between the parties involved and instead continue with the civil war until victory is won with French help. Incidentally, French interference in Chad's internal conflict is impressive even without escalation.

According to the news media, Operation Epervier, the code name for the French invasion of Chad, currently involves 2,240 servicemen, eleven Jaguar fighters, eight Mirage planes, and Gazelle helicopters armed with Hot missiles. There are plans to airlift another 300 French soldiers to Chad. French ground forces and warplanes stationed in neighbouring African countries that maintain a "special relationship" with Paris, are in combat readiness. French engineers will, it is reported, be dispatched to Chad shortly to build and modernize military airfields there. Whereas so far French soldiers have not crossed the 16th parallel, the Red Line drawn by Paris, their possible "redeployment," that is, the expansion of French intervention, is now being discussed openly.

The U.S. administration is taking a hand in Operation Epervier. It has provided the Habré regime with $15 million worth of military hardware, brought in by USAF planes and U.S. technical assistance teams. It is presumed that "such urgent military assistance programmes can be ordered by the President and do not require congressional approval." Their total sum may reach as much as $75 million. One Egyptian newspaper recently observed that Egypt had resolutely rebuffed Washington's attempts to embroil it in the Franco-U.S. gamble in Chad.

Today the escalation of French armed intervention in the internal conflict in Chad is being increasingly denounced by the public throughout the world, especially in Africa. The leaders of Ghana, Burkina Faso, Benin, Nigeria, Togo and Niger have come out against it. The Libyan People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison has issued a statement indicating that the French President's admissions and the crude sallies of the U.S. administration spokesmen against the peoples of Chad and Libya are evidence of imperialism's overall strategic design to regain dominion in Africa.

Calling upon the people of Chad to be vigilant, Acheik Ibn Oumar, chairman of the Transitional Government of National Unity, warns that imperialism seeks to get control of the country's natural wealth and turn Chad into a springboard from which to strike destabilizing blows at progressive neighbouring states.

EVGENY KORSHUNOV

If one stage of Pershing 2 is dismantled...

The political poster in the F.R.G. today has not only attained the status of an art, but also great diversity, ranging from enormous wall-size placards to tiny car stickers. No one has forgotten how, during the movement against the deployment of Pershings, posters depicting a mischievous mannikin pushing away an enormous black missile were visible at every corner.

In this connection, a peace movement veteran I met the other day in Essen observed, "We failed then to get the missiles out, which is why you will understand easily how pleased we are with the new Soviet proposal to eliminate medium-range missiles in Europe." He, however, added, "Yes, pleased we are, but it is hard to say whether anything will come of it."

Why is this man, whom I have long known as an irrepressible optimist, so sceptical, as for that matter are so many others? Although answers differ, the basic point is that the West's initially positive response to the "zero option" that it itself first proposed has given way to a despondent "yes, but...." A rash of arguments have appeared in the F.R.G. news media, as well as in the speeches of many Christian Democrats, to the effect that the "zero option" is fraught with appalling dangers. With enviable speed a tome has appeared from the pen of Lothar Rühl, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Defence, which the Frankfurter Allgemeine terms a "warning." It is suggested that originally NATO's "zero option" had a different end in view.

One does not have to go far to find the reason for this turnabout. As will be remembered, at the Geneva talks the U.S. delegation reacted to the Soviet proposal with a series of counter-proposals that undermined the very concept of eliminating medium-range missiles. In the first place, the U.S. said that it plans not to withdraw the Pershing 2s, but merely to dismantle one of its stages. In the second place, it is being claimed that negotiations should refer to a package, implying that the result will depend on a cut in tactical missiles. In the third place, it is insisted that it must first be agreed what a medium-range missile actually means.

The object of the U.S. ploy is plain. It could be worded as "withdrawing the missiles only to keep them in place." For if it is easy enough to dismantle a stage, it should be just as easy to put it back. Equally transparent is the intention to bog discussions down again in a morass of statistics and definitions, in short, shackle it with new "linkages."

So what is the reaction in the F.R.G. to this "missile scholasticism"? One attitude was formulated by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher when he said, "there is no doubt that the Pershings deployed in the F.R.G., and equally the cruise missiles deployed both here and in other countries, must be withdrawn." Replying to a straightforward question from his radio interviewer, he reaffirmed, "these systems should be withdrawn from the Federal Republic of Germany within the framework of the 'zero option.'" This is straightforward enough.

However, the F.R.G. Defence Ministry takes a different view. The Frankfurter Rundschau reported on April 3 that it "does not object in principle" to the U.S. proposals and considers the remaking of the Pershings as "one of many options." The same Lothar Rühl claimed that "the Federal government has sufficient reason still to refrain from pronouncements," inasmuch as the problem has been mooted in Geneva.

But why? Does not the F.R.G. have sufficient reason to contribute to positive disarmament moves? Does it not have a voice of its own? Can it not help in getting a concrete move made in Europe with a view to reducing the level of confrontation? After all, Chancellor Helmut Kohl observed in his government statement that "the earliest conclusion of an agreement on medium-range missiles would be tangible proof of the serious and convincing character of efforts to secure arms control. The agreement would also greatly stimulate negotiations in other areas." So what is the hitch?

LEV BEZYMENSKY

What about adding a stage to SS-20

NATO headquarters are increasingly worried by Washington's recent idea—in connection with the U.S.-U.S.S.R. talks on the Euromissiles "zero option"—of keeping medium-range Pershing 2 missiles in Western Europe by converting them into Pershing 1-type tactical missiles. This point was made in Brussels by a well-known political expert closely associated with the NATO executives. If need be, the Pershing 1 could just as easily be converted back into a Pershing 2. He thinks many NATO military experts of standing believe the U.S.S.R. could retaliate by converting its available SS-20 missiles into mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM). After the U.S. administration abandoned SALT-2, the Russians, according to opinions widely current in NATO headquarters, are now entitled to consider themselves free of the ICBM ceiling commitments the treaty specifies.

The expert is certain that the Soviet Union could augment its fleet of mobile ICBMs comparatively quickly and economically by converting the highly effective SS-20s into a still more formidable ICBM, which could be done by mechanically adding a third stage and introducing a relatively simple modification in its control system.

In the expert's opinion, these new Soviet mobile ICBMs would represent a still greater danger to Western Europe than the SS-20s, inasmuch as, for instance, deployed beyond the Urals, they could be targeted on the same objectives in Western Europe, while themselves remaining virtually invulnerable.

The Russians, in whom trust has been growing consistently of late, have never said they had any such plans. However, the expert noted, they have never remained idle upon detecting an American "novelty."

In Brussels and other European capitals, the U.S. administration's stance on Euromissiles cannot fail to produce the impression of a double cross, the expert noted. U.S. attempts to keep its medium-range missiles in Europe even in truncated form, after the enunciation of the "zero option," undermines confidence in the White House. West European observers are not so gullible, he stressed, as to blind themselves to the fact that, in effect, this double cross could increase the threat to Western Europe's security.

MIKHAIL PUTINKOVSKY

Handshake across the Himalayas

There were still four months to go before the tricoloured national Indian flag, the symbol of independence, was raised over the Red Fort, when Jawaharlal Nehru told the nation on April 13, 1947, that agreement had been reached between India and the Soviet Union to establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors.

Instructing the first Indian ambassador to Moscow, Nehru told him that the Soviet Union was a friendly country from which India had been torn by foreign rule, and with whom it was necessary to make up for lost time and strengthen relations as the two nations were neighbours with much in common and no conflicting interests.

Shortly after the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, Lenin predicted that the peoples of the East, in particular India, would contribute to deciding the destinies of the world. He called for friendship and fraternity with the Indians and all the other peoples of the East. His prediction was based on the Marxist theory of social development.

The Marxist interpretation of world progress contributed significantly to the shaping of the world outlook of Jawaharlal Nehru, the outstanding leader of the Indians' struggle for national independence. It was for just that reason that Nehru was confirmed in his anti-imperialist views. This might have remained merely a detail of his personal biography, of purely subjective value, the distinguished Indian sociologist Vinod Bhatia told me, had it not become a focus for the objective tendencies developing among the Indian people, who were languishing under imperialist domination. That was why he saw the Russian revolution as the first blow against imperialism. That was why the first leader of independent India said it was natural for the two countries to cooperate in tackling their common imperatives, fighting colonialism and imperialism and safeguarding peace. There is every reason to say that Jawaharlal Nehru took the hand of friendship and fraternity extended by Vladimir Lenin.

The secret of friendship

That handshake is symbolic of the relationship between the two peoples. The forty years of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and India have seen the emergence of much of what is today typical of the Soviet Union's links with countries that have freed themselves from colonial rule, those sound and just principles of equality that are slowly but steadily being established in international relations.

"The four decades of Soviet-Indian diplomatic relations have given the world an instructive example of the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems," I was told by Prof. M. Zuberi of Jawaharlal Nehru University. "At the same time, our close contacts are an important factor in strengthening the potential of the forces that contribute to international stability and help to counter neoglobalist ambitions...."

Many Western and Indian capitalist political scientists are puzzled by the extremely friendly relations that subsist between India and the U.S.S.R. India is a non-aligned capitalist state and the Soviet Union a socialist power and a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. However, Moscow and New Delhi, building their relationship on the basis of the 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, are effectively working together to tackle the most important problems of our time and maintaining extensive contacts in virtually every possible field. There is no contradiction here: the two quotes below have the same meaning and constitute a projection into our time of the concord apparent in the views of Nehru and Lenin.

Premier Indira Gandhi, daughter of the first leader of independent India, said in 1984, shortly before her tragic death that non-alignment does not mean inaction, passive neutrality or isolationism. Non-alignment is the logical reflection of a foreign policy based on the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and other parts of the world, and the struggle is not yet over.

And here is what the Programme of the CPSU, approved by the 27th Party Congress in 1986, has to say: "Relations between the Soviet Union and newly free countries have demonstrated that there also exists a realistic basis for cooperation with those young states that are following the capitalist road of development. This basis consists in a common interest in safeguarding peace, strengthening international security and ending the arms race; in a sharpening contradiction between the interests of the peoples and the imperialist policy of diktat and expansion; and in an understanding by young states of the fact that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union help to strengthen their independence."

It is precisely because, as Indira Gandhi said, the struggle is not yet over that the Soviet state (which, as her father observed, dealt the first blow at imperialism) is viewed by most Indians as a natural ally of their great Asian power in the pursuit of its anti-imperialist policy.

Just as the handshake of the two nations was natural at the start of the century, so today it is logical that they should be allies in the complex political struggles of our time.

Synthesis of values

New Delhi and Moscow have built an extensive system of consultations with priority attached to summit meetings to uphold peace and justice.

The ten-point Delhi Declaration, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi last November during the General Secretary's visit to India, was welcomed in both countries not as a compromise but as a workable combination of the foreign policy concepts of the two states. The Soviet Union is known to have initiated efforts for the prohibition and abolition of nuclear weapons. India advocates the application of Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of non-violence in international relations. The very title of the document, the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World, thus expresses the traditional values of the two nations. Their cultures, the Soviet leader stressed in his address to

the Indian Parliament, also have much in common, particularly the quest for the meaning of life, forming the eternal triad: man-humanity-humanism.

These moral and philosophical criteria blend in the declaration in a forcefully presented programme of efforts to achieve comprehensive international security, general and complete disarmament and radical improvements in the international climate.

Where does security begin? The view expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev in New Delhi that it begins at home has already been taken up. And the Asian-Pacific region is home both for India and the Soviet Union.

Indian students at Leningrad Polytechnic.

TASS photo

Following the November summit, the Indian political community became convinced that the Soviet proposals for Asian security put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok did not call for any military-political structures directed against anyone or encroaching upon anyone's interests. The concept of Asian security is now understood here in the spirit in which it was conceived, as a joint search for security by all the states of the region without exception, on the basis of principles they themselves have formulated at different times. Commenting on the Vladivostok proposals, Rajiv Gandhi said they were consonant with the decisions of the conference of Asian countries convened on India's initiative back in 1947. On another occasion he stressed that there was no difference of principle between the Soviet and Indian concepts of Asian security.

It is therefore clear that joint or parallel actions by our two countries, accounting for a fifth of the world's population, amount to an effective potential for improving the situation in Asia and neighbouring regions.

The effect of acceleration

Rena Gupta, 20, was brought to the House of Soviet Science, Culture and Art in New Delhi by a guide—and left it on her own. Her sight was restored by a team of eye surgeons from the Moscow Ophthalmic Microsurgery Institute headed by Professor Svyatoslav Fyodorov who came to India in March. Dozens of Indians have already been to the magic van converted into an operating theatre in which the Soviet surgeons are demonstrating the operations.

"The Soviet Union has made outstanding progress on eye surgery," India's Minister of State for Health, Saroj Khaparde, told New Times. "India has much to learn from your country."

In fact, we are learning from each other. Members of a delegation of Soviet scientists who came on a visit to India in early April led by Professor Mikhail Kapitsa, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, told me that they had heard many new and interesting ideas in discussions with Indian academics. Soviet scientists said they had broadened their knowledge with the findings of their Indian colleagues at seminars on Asian security, relations among Asian states and a new economic order.

The supply of Soviet-made equipment for industrial projects built in India with the assistance of the U.S.S.R. is constantly shrinking but the staff of the economic counsellor at the Soviet embassy in India are happy. Are they bad businessmen?

"Old views do not apply to business relations of a new type," Counsellor Victor Litvinenko says. "While in the mid-1950s the Soviet Union supplied virtually all the equipment for the first Soviet-Indian economic cooperation project, the Bhilai steel plant, the share of Soviet-made machinery at the third steel plant built with our help, in Visakhapatnam, is a mere 20 per cent, the rest being manufactured in India under Soviet licences. This tendency heartens us for it is an index not only of the economic but also the political significance of our cooperation with India, our contribution to her independence."

Plants built with Soviet assistance today produce about 40 per cent of India's steel, refine 40 per cent of its oil, and manufacture 80 per cent of its metallurgical, and 70 per cent of its power engineering equipment.

The mutual advantage derived from Soviet-Indian cooperation over the past 40 years has already become a textbook example. No less valuable are cultural and intellectual exchanges between our two countries, with their unique civilizations. In the past the Indians were told that the acme of the world culture was represented by Canterbury Cathedral, but not by St. Basil's in Moscow, by the "S.O.S. Titanic" but not "Battleship Potemkin," by Charles Dickens but not Maxim Gorky. In our country, too, people of the older generations learned about India from Rudyard Kipling rather than Rabindranath Tagore. But in the past few decades we have made up for all that with a vengeance. The year-long festivals of India in the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Union in India due to take place soon will further broaden our mutual understanding.

In the late 1940s, the first optional Russian language course was started at New Delhi University on Nehru's initiative. Today Russian is studied at 60 Indian universities.

"The interest in Russian has grown especially since your country embarked on its course of restructuring," M.G. Vaidya, the academic secretary of the Institute of Russian Studies in Bhopal, told me. "Our students now write essays on such subjects as 'Acceleration in the Soviet Union and the public sector in India.' Studying Russian, they get a far better idea of Russian and Soviet culture and learn far more about what is happening in the Soviet Union today."

Plans for Soviet-Indian cooperation in yet another field, housing construction, have just been announced.

A department chief at the Ministry of Urban Development, I. Choudhary told New Times, "In the year designated International Year of Shelter for the Homeless by the United Nations, cooperation between Moscow and New Delhi in this field is truly symbolic; we will together build peaceful homes for our people, and continue our efforts to ensure that an edifice of peace is raised for people the world over."

LEONID ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

New Delhi

To search for solutions

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the opening of the conference on disarmament in Geneva. Although the results of the cooperation of 40 countries over such a period could have been more substantial, the conference has succeeded in elaborating a number of important international treaties. A significant contribution to reaching these agreements was made by neutral and non-aligned countries. It should be noted that their weight in world politics has been growing in recent years.

Our special correspondent Dmitry Pogorzhelsky interviewed the head of the Swedish delegation at the Geneva disarmament conference, the prominent public figure, ambassador Majbritt Theorin.

I should like to begin by reminding you of your comment that "Sweden is a great power in questions of disarmament." Indeed, your country's contribution to the cause of strengthening peace is well known. It is sufficient to say that Stockholm was the venue for the first phase of the conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe—a phase that was crowned with considerable success. Proceeding from this experience, what, in your opinion, can neutral and non-aligned countries do? How do you assess the prospects of the ECSC process?

First of all, I believe it to be extremely important for us to advance in all directions, and not deal with the strengthening of confidence-building measures alone, though these are, of course, important in themselves. Our future, the future of Europeans, is at stake. That is one of the reasons why at the Vienna meeting the Nordic countries made joint proposals on the protection of the environment.

Speaking of confidence-building measures and disarmament, I am an optimist. I hope we will manage to advance to the phase outlined by the mandate of the Madrid meeting.

It is very important for the ECSC process to develop on a multilateral basis, with the participation of all states on the continent. Neutral and non-aligned countries can make a weighty contribution to it.

I realize that I am running somewhat ahead of developments but, still, what is your attitude to the idea of Stockholm again being the venue for a discussion of key disarmament issues?

My government has already expressed its readiness, through the Minister for Foreign Affairs Sten Andersson, to play host to the participants in the conference again should they be interested in this. It is clear that we must await the outcome of Vienna, and see if the discussion there produces a concrete result.

It is indisputable that the Stockholm conference was important, if only because it showed that when they want to, the European countries, the United States and Canada can reach agreement in such a sensitive area as disarmament and confidence measures. It was there that a sort of breakthrough in thinking took place. Many problems can be solved if there is political will, the desire to do so and a positive contribution from neutral countries.

What do you think of the SDI programme, which has become the main obstacle in the way towards accords in Reykjavik?

SDI blocked Reykjavik. I would like to mention a proposal from the Palme Commission because, I think, it merits consideration. I would put it this way: let us sit down and calmly get to the root of the matter, what is the Soviet point of view, what is the American, what is prohibited by the ABM treaty and what is not. Thereby it will be possible to identify current differences. I hope that at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva the sides are pursuing just this course.

At the Geneva conference we are also discussing banning space weapons and have even formed a special group to deal with the problem. Unfortunately, however, we failed to advance any distance here. I think more countries could be enlisted in this effort. We probably ought to concentrate on certain specific questions such as the banning of anti-satellite weapons.

It goes without saying that from the Soviet point of view the "star wars" project is the main obstacle to accords. But I will emphasize that the proposals made in Reykjavik by both sides remain on the negotiating table.

You returned recently from Moscow where you had talks with your Soviet counterparts. What were your impressions of the visit?

It was a very constructive and useful dialogue. I was conscious of openness, in the way the talks were conducted and the frankness with which we exchanged views.

Of course, I expressed the Swedish point of view, including that on the problem of nuclear tests. The U.S.S.R. conducted its test several days after my return from Moscow. I told my Soviet counterparts that it would be best if the U.S.S.R. refrained from testing and extended the moratorium, as otherwise public opinion, which is growing stronger not only in the United States but worldwide, might react with disappointment: we're back to square one. Moreover, the "hawks" in the United States would then have an argument: you see, they've conducted a test, so why should we not continue ours? I said all this in Moscow. My counterparts accepted some of what I said. I very much hope that the Soviet Union will resume its moratorium.

Speaking of the Geneva conference, we tried to talk the U.S. representatives into stopping tests, and convince them with the Soviet example in particular, but all our efforts came to nothing, I am sorry to say.

The Soviet Union has put forward a new proposal on medium-range missiles....

During my recent stay in Moscow I said that the question of these missiles should be taken out of the Reykjavik package because, unlike the strategic intercontinental missiles, they are not directly linked with SDI. And it is very good that the Soviet Union has taken this step. There is hope of agreement, because Reagan has also made a counter proposal. The changes that have taken place lately in Geneva can only be characterized as positve.

You spoke of the positive reaction worldwide to the Soviet proposal on medium-range missiles. But again we hear contentions that if nuclear weapons are removed from the continent, Western Europe will be at a disadvantage because the Warsaw Treaty supposedly has superiority in conventional armaments.

The main thing is that the Soviet Union is prepared to reach agreement on this problem as well. The latest studies have shown that there is indeed an imbalance in the field of conventional armaments. The extent of this imbalance is open to debate. This balance should be attained not by NATO building up its armaments, but at the lowest possible level. The important thing is, I repeat, that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to discuss this problem, and reach agreement with due account taken of the West's concern in this matter.

Stockholm.

Visit to the Tormented Land

The key point in the Pope's South American tour was beyond doubt his visit to Chile. Yet on the plane bringing him from Europe, Chile was far from being uppermost in his mind. The Polish people, he told a correspondent for the Italian paper Repubblica during the flight, was waging a far harder struggle than the Chilean people.

The Pope's attitude to socialism and Communists, especially in his native Poland, is common knowledge. Pinochet was not all that naive in anticipating the pontiff's blessing. Indeed, in the same in-flight interview John Paul II said that though his regime was at the moment a dictatorship, it was "by definition" transitional, which meant that in the foreseeable future it could become a democratic regime.

The Chilean junta is indeed trying to show the world that it wants to "reform." Its recent legislation on parties and elections simulates, albeit crudely, "a transition to democracy." The aim is to dress the dictatorship in the guise of legality and present a meticulously selected electoral body in 1989 with a single presidential nominee, either Pinochet himself or his designated successor.

The Pope however did not bestow his blessing on Pinochet. Though the Chilean authorities tried to use round-ups and preemptive arrests to give an idyllic appearance at least to Santiago, the security police are no longer omnipotent. The Pope found Chile to be a country in which there cannot be peace while the junta is in power. The papal "conciliation mass" had to be curtailed, because of the fierce confrontation between police and demonstrators. The pleadings of the church hierarchs who accompanied the shocked and dispirited visitor were to no avail.

Indeed, wherever the papal cortège went, there were mass demonstrations against the dictatorship. Some were spontaneous, others have been planned by the opposition in advance. In line with the strict orders issued, the carabineers did not open fire, resorting instead to water cannon, tear gas and truncheon. Though nobody was killed, more that 600 people were injured.

Wherever he went as many as half a million Catholics turned out to meet the Pope. Many were convinced that the Vatican, which commands what is possibly the world's most widely ramified network of agents, was ignorant of the terror and lawlessness. Speakers described the torture they had undergone and the thousands reported missing. One woman in a Santiago slum implored the Pope to seek the release of political prisoners, many of whom face the death sentence. True, the Church had already stood up for them, with Bishop Carlos Camus calling them heroes and Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez asking the authorities to ease prison conditions. However, intervention by the pontiff would naturally carry more weight.

More than 60 arrests were made in clashes with police when the homeless tried to occupy plots near the spot where the Pope addressed Santiago slum dwellers.

AP-TASS photo

Representatives of Chilean youth provided the most succinct and sinister information about the real situation in the country, when at one meeting with the Pope they raised a huge banner reading: "Pinochet an Assassin" above the crowd.

In this tormented land sententious anti-communism would not do. The crowds of Catholics, who gave John Paul II such a jubilant welcome, see the anti-communist Pinochet as their No. 1 enemy. The Pope changed his tune. He called the dictatorship a dictatorship, and spoke of respect for human rights.

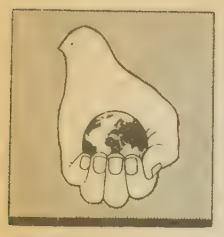
Thousands of Catholics took these words as a call of the Church to fight for the overthrow of the tyrant. That is what they wanted to hear. However, the Pope himself was not so open or so pointed. He sidestepped political judgements, confining himself to "humanitarian criticism." He attempted to stand above the political storm. Many Chileans observed that his statements were subdued and evasive. He advised the Chilean clergy to remain aloof from the political struggle and the poor and the young to be patient, and this in the National Stadium, where dozens of patriots were tortured to death during the "black September" of 1973.

In Chile, the left carries far more weight than in any other South American country. There is some evidence to show that if truly democratic elections were held today, Chilean Communists could count on between 15 and 20 per cent of the vote. Attempts to divert the mass movement from the political struggle only betray the caution of a conservative who fears that the overhasty dismantling of the dictatorship in response to popular pressure might return the left to power.

Rather than incite the lower depths which could prove hard to control, the Pope tried to bring the tyrant to his senses. Instead of giving his blessing, he is reported to have advised Pinochet in a confidential talk lasting only 45 minutes, not to delay in implementing liberal reforms. Will the dictator heed his counsel? One churchman accompanying the Pope reminded newsmen of the fates that befell Marcos and Duvalier, who did not listen to such advice.

It is quite possible that Pinochet's dictatorship will end in much the same way as those of Duvalier in Haiti and Marcos in the Philippines. But it is unlikely that developments in Chile will follow that well-tried scenario. The Pope's "conciliation mass" did not heal the divide. Indeed, the gap between the dictatorship and Chilean society can no longer be bridged. The democratic opposition has shown that it is both strong and independent. By taking advantage of the Pope's visit as a catalyst for anti-government action, and demonstrating the yawning gulf between the people and the dictatorship, the opposition has made a further significant advance in its fight against the forces that seek to prolong the agony of the dictatorship in order to further their own political ends.

VLADIMIR KULISTIKOV



IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Masataka Kosaka: AN INEVITABLE EVIL?

Kyoto University Professor Masataka Kosaka is a specialist on problems of international security.

A nuclear-free world is not at all as unrealistic as many believe. However, the complete prohibition and abolition of nuclear weapons will not serve to create an ideal world order from which wars have been eliminated. Wars will still break out and, in the event of their escalation, the countries involved will more and more frequently recall nuclear weapons. After all, the technology required for their manufacture remains in think tanks and computer banks. In that sense the complete elimination of nuclear weaponry is out of the question. However, even its incomplete elimination is far preferable to maintaining and building up nuclear armouries, as that could generate the temptation to deliver a first strike.

The fear of a nuclear apocalypse, felt by many has assured the world a more or less peaceful existence since 1945. It is impossible to think soberly of nuclear war. It is much easier, however, to think of "conventional" war. Such people believe the elimination of nuclear weapons will broaden the field for "conventional" wars. As for Japan, the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union have nuclear weapons cools those hotheads who see our country as a superpower and are prepared to plunge into gambles and ventures.

Nevertheless, I advocate nuclear disarmament. Does Japan have a stake in nuclear disarmament? Yes, it does, and a very considerable one at that. It would markedly enhance its status in a world where the possession of mass destruction weapons would no longer serve as an index of might.

The issue of guaranteeing security in a hypothetical nuclear-free world is a complex but fascinating one. What can prevent a reversal to nuclear weaponry? Not a new U.N., or a "world government" but that repugnance for nuclear weapons which is felt by every normal person. As well as nuclear weapons, chemical and bacteriological weapons of mass destruction are especially abhorred. I would qualify that feeling as an **intangible** guarantee which should also incorporate further international understanding, and broader contacts and links of a diverse order, from the economic to the humanitarian. Many, it is true, prefer the **tangible** guarantee of the limited preservation of nuclear weaponry. However, if we continue to place our faith in mass destruction weapons and the reciprocated fear of these weapons, the possibility of nuclear war will increase.

In the early 17th century, Japan implemented a disarmament programme. General Ieyasu Togukawa banned imported European firearms, which in those times were the weapon of mass destruction. The Samurais rearmed themselves with their swords, and this situation continued for almost 250 years. The said experiment was successful only because the Togukawa dynasty was in full control. Now, with the 20th century drawing to a close, neither the U.S., nor the U.S.S.R. can count on a repetition of the Togukawa experiment.

Adam Smith once remarked that though weapons were an inevitable evil and their manufacture non-productive, it was necessary to have them, for which reason he believed it vital to spend resources on them. Mikhail Gorbachev clearly seeks to cut this expenditure. He has a difficult job before him. He has already made several powerful moves, but a unilateral reduction of nuclear stockpiles is, in practice, out of the question. The 18-month-long Soviet test moratorium imposed a definite degree of restraint and was a politically important move. ■

Raymond Garthoff: PART WITH ARMOURIES

Professor Raymond Garthoff is on the staff of the Brookings Institution (United States).

One of the objections that is raised to even attempting to move to a completely non-nuclear world is that in the absence of nuclear weapons, while posing danger to everyone, they also present a restraining factor, a deterring factor against the use of military power.

In the absence of nuclear weapons many people fear that once they have been removed, there might be competition in non-nuclear weapons, or temptations for some countries to resort to their use. But I think that if the world does move toward a non-nuclear world, it probably would be moving at the same time to increased restraints on any resort to force.

Although I think the likelihood of a completely non-nuclear world is distant —I don't think it is something likely to be attainable for many years, that doesn't preclude our moving in directions that involve substantial reductions in nuclear weapons which will certainly be helpful in its own right, as well as being a further step towards a situation in which eventually a non-nuclear world might be attainable.

There would have to be some political transformation in the international system to permit powers to agree to give up their nuclear weapons. I think in the years ahead we should work to stabilize and reduce existing weapons, not only nuclear weapons, but others as well. I think we should avoid creating new channels of arms competition, and I think we should work toward developing an international system in which countries are prepared to carry on pursuit of their own national interests and competition of different systems in completely non-military terms. ■

GLIMPSES OF HISTORY

A year ago, on April 15, 1986, 18 USAF F-111 bombers carrying a full complement of bombs and missiles took off from the British base at Lakenheath and headed for Libya. The airmen had orders to deal a blow at the Libyan capital of Tripoli. Primarily, they were to strike at the Bab Aziziya barracks, where leader of the Libyan revolution Muammar al-Gaddafi lived with his family. That same day, the U.S. naval bombers hit Benghazi, another Libyan city.

An air raid on Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (state of the masses) can only be qualified as an act of undisguised aggression, an act of political vandalism. The raid on the residence of the head of a sovereign state aimed at physically eliminating him and his family is an outrageous precedent, unknown in international relations. The barbarous raid against peaceful civilians is genocide pure and simple, reminiscent of the destruction of Guernica in Spain and the massacre at Song My in Vietnam.

Washington has been pursuing a hostile course towards Libya since 1969, when King Idris was overthrown and the anti-imperialist government of Colonel Gaddafi came to power. The policy toughened considerably after Reagan assumed office. In the earliest days of his presidency, in January 1981, the State Department launched a campaign against Libya, accusing it of "international terrorism." Plans for a coup d'état were hatched, and provocative exercises of the U.S. Sixth Fleet were held off Libyan shores.

A few months before the April raid, the U.S. resorted to open economic aggression against Libya. President Reagan banned all trade and economic links with the country. In its broadcasts in Arabic the Voice of America called for toppling the Libyan regime. In March 1986, U.S. naval ships and carrier-based aircraft from the Sixth Fleet struck with bombs and missiles at the outskirts of the Libyan town of Sirte and at other targets. All these moves culminated in the bandit bombing of the capital of a U.N. member state.

Why this undisguisedly aggressive attitude towards Libya on the part of the U.S.? Washington is irked by the progressive socio-economic reforms in Libya, its consistent anti-imperialist course in the Arab world, and on the international arena in general, by its support for the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, and its opposition to Camp David and other plans for capitulatory settlement in the Middle East. Washington was not concerned to give even a semblance of veracity to the pretext it chose for its provocations and armed action against Libya. That pretext is "punishment for terrorism." Not only is it false, but some terrorist acts it ascribed to Libya were the handiwork of the CIA and its Israeli counterpart, Mossad.

Aggressive acts against Libya are part and parcel of a thoroughly coordinated U.S. and Israeli policy vis-à-vis Arab and other Islamic countries. In perpetrating the perfidious attack on Libya, the U.S. sought to intimidate all of them, impose a Camp David-style settlement on the Arab peoples and make Muslims give up their struggle for Israeli-occupied Jerusalem.

At the same time, these anti-Libyan actions are a further instance of the implementation of the neoglobalist Reagan doctrine under which the U.S. administration has arrogated to itself the right to use its armed force in any region of the globe "to defend U.S. vital interests."

What is this if not state terrorism and arbitrariness manifest in attempts to impose its will by force of arms on nations that have determined to follow the course of independent development? The piratical raid on Libya mirrored Washington's overall policy of interfering in the affairs of sovereign states, and thus aggravating world tensions.

This venture revealed the hypocrisy of Reagan's words when, at the closing ceremony of the U.S.-Soviet summit in Geneva, he expatiated on the right of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Central America freely to choose their destiny without outside interference. It was laid bare once again by Mikhail Gorbachev. At the dinner in honour of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain in the Kremlin on March 30 he said: "There are many people in the West who are not averse to holding forth on the freedom of choice, meaning the freedom to choose the capitalist system. And if one or other nation, be it in Nicaragua or in Africa, the Middle East or Asia, does evince a desire to look for a road that suits it better, then dollars, missiles and even mercenaries go into action to quash it. First hypocrisy, then bloodshed."

The Soviet Union is in constant solidarity with the people of Libya who uphold their honour and dignity, and their right to independent development; it gives Libya political, diplomatic, economic and military backing. It resolutely censures U.S. aggressive sallies against this Arab country. The Soviet leadership has repeatedly drawn the U.S. administration's attention to the grave consequences with which such an adventurist policy is fraught.

The barbarous raid on Libya has brought nothing but shame to the U.S. The eighth non-aligned summit in Harare, the highest forums of the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of Islamic Conference condemned it as an act of state terrorism, as a flagrant violation of international law. And the U.N. General Assembly not only censured the aggression, but also confirmed Libya's right to compensation for the material and human losses it suffered.

OLEG FOMIN

The U.S. bombing raid on Libya, April 15, 1986.

Two or three years ago Soviet newspapers said the U.S. was fleecing other capitalist countries with its "dear dollar." Now, when the rate of exchange has dropped, it is claimed that the Americans are robbing others with the "cheap dollar." The two statements do not seem compatible. I do not understand why in Paris recently the "robbed" concluded an agreement with the U.S. to stabilize rates of exchange.

V. TIMOSHIN
Pavlodar, U.S.S.R.

TAKING UP A POINT

Tatyana Shavrova, Cand. Sc. (Econ.) replies:

At the expense of its allies

In the world capitalist economy two or three years are enough time for radical changes to take place in the economic and financial situation. Two or three years are more than adequate for fundamental changes in the external economic policy conducted by the ruling quarters of the West's leading power. On the one hand, this policy is conditioned by changes in the international situation. On the other, the policy itself determines the international situation. Only by understanding this vicious circle is it possible to comprehend the paradox that in the early 1980s Washington found the dear dollar to its advantage, while its interests are better served today by the cheap dollar.

To correlate these contradictions in U.S. monetary policy, let us first go back to the days when Washington put its faith in a higher rate of exchange, and try to understand why this was so.

Western economists usually associate the "dear dollar" policy with the present administration. During his initial election campaign in 1980, Reagan promised to strengthen the dollar by checking its depreciation and the runaway rise in the cost of living. By the close of the 1970s the dollar had shed more than a third of its weight in respect of other Western currencies as compared with the start of the 1970s. Meanwhile, annual retail price rises in the U.S. were in two figures. However, the effort to strengthen the dollar and check inflation was not the only or, still less, the paramount aim of the administration, which sought to "rearm America" both literally, by securing military superiority over the U.S.S.R., and figuratively, by technologically revamping U.S. industry in the face of mounting competition from other centres of imperialism.

This needed heavy outlays of money, which the U.S. government did not have. Though the federal budget closed annually with a marked deficit, President Reagan did not want to fill the Treasury by raising taxes. Consequently, the ruling circles sought to kill the two birds of strengthening the dollar and ensuring the influx of money with the one stone of raising the bank rate.

The correlation between the bank rate and the currency exchange rate is that the higher the bank rate is in a given country as compared with others, the more profitable it is to invest there; the greater the influx of capital the greater therefore is the demand for this country's currency and, hence, the higher this currency's rate of exchange. Manipulations with the bank rate in the U.S. have an immediate effect on the world capitalist market by virtue of the special role the U.S. dollar plays in the capitalist currency system. The dollar serves as the international reserve currency and two thirds of international trade dealings are conducted in it. Owing to the hegemony of the dollar Washington is in a position to determine not only the currency situation, but also the overall economic situation in the capitalist world.

So, since money is only flowing into the U.S., other countries have less of it, which means less economic investment and growing unemployment. In other words, the artificial rise in the dollar's rate of exchange bled other industrialized capitalist countries white. It has been estimated that in the first half of the 1980s Western Europe alone lost $300 billion to the U.S. All in all, the U.S. gained additional finances in excess of $500 billion over this period.

However, these unprecedented credit and currency machinations in capitalism's economic history soon boomeranged. "Rearming" at the expense of others transformed the U.S. from a creditor nation into the world's biggest debtor, whose external debt last year exceeded $250 billion. This debt continues to soar, for despite the falling rate of exchange of the dollar, the influx of foreign capital has not stopped. In 1986, for instance, there was an influx of $140 billion, now, however, not from Western Europe as before, but from Japan, which commands large resources of hard currency, due in no small measure to the "dear dollar" policy which enabled it to consolidate its financial position in the capitalist economic system.

The high rate of exchange is profitable for importers, as with "dear" currency they can buy more foreign commodities, but unprofitable for exporters, as the higher the currency rate of exchange is, the more expensive these commodities become, hence the lower the demand. Consequently, by playing into the hands of military tycoons and transnational bankers, the "dear dollar" policy undercut U.S. industrialists, whose competitors cramped the field for them on domestic, let alone external, markets. In addition to the growing external debt resulting from the influx of capital, there was the debt deriving from the annual external trade deficit: between 1980 and 1986, $630 billion-worth more goods were imported into the U.S. than were exported.

The U.S. marked decline on the external economic scene has affected the status of the dollar, which had already faced the threat of a drastic devaluation two years ago. To save the dollar from a collapse that entailed the risk of the breakup of capitalism's whole currency system, Washington had willy-nilly to reverse its policy. At an urgent conference of leading Western financiers at the New York Plaza Hotel in September 1985, an agreement was reached to "soft-land" the dollar, in other words, gradually lower its rate of exchange.

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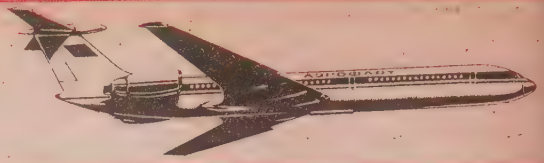

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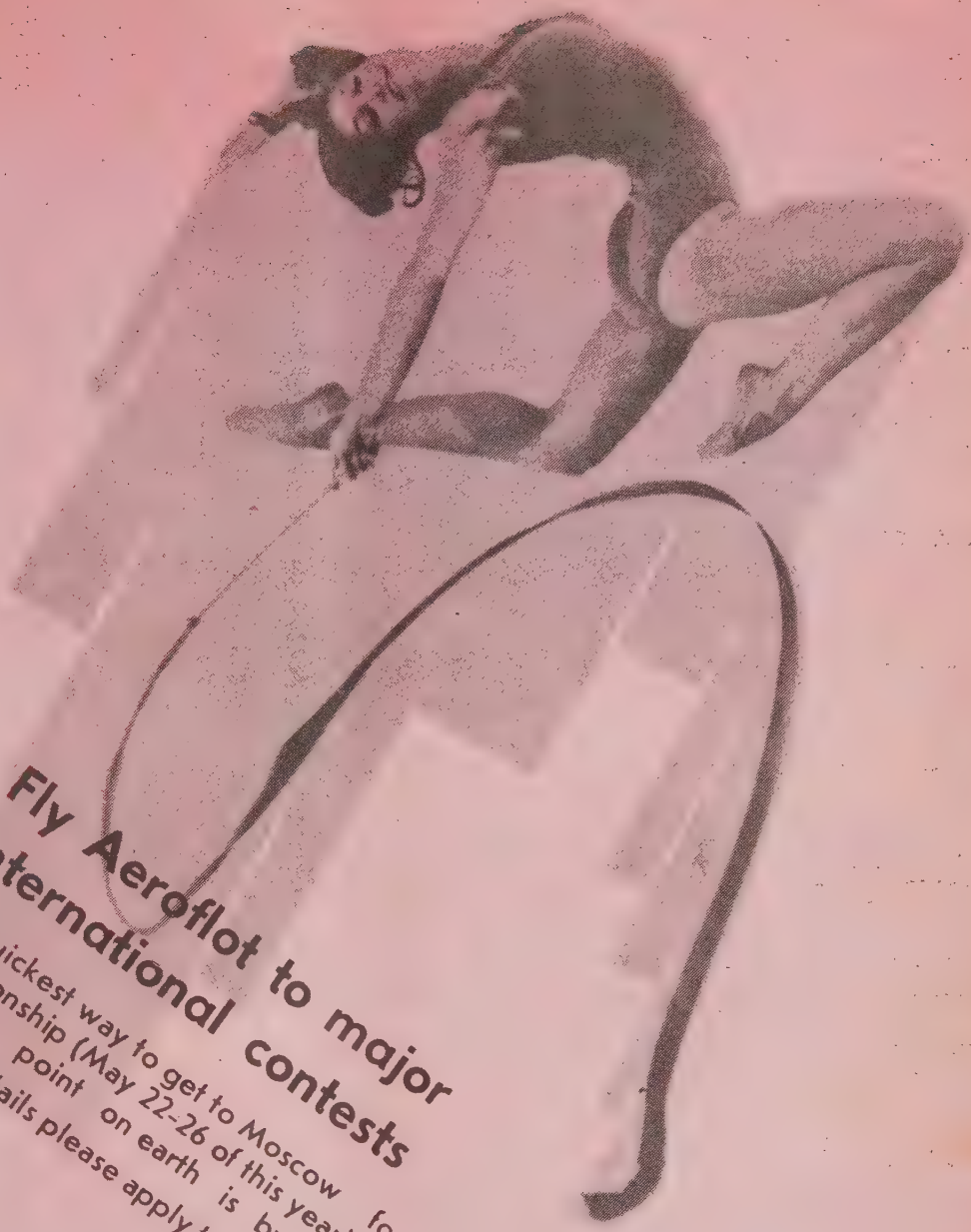

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OPINIONS

I support your proposal

Doubtless I am saying nothing original when I point out that nuclear arms represent a far greater danger to the human race than conventional weapons. As a student of history, I can say that danger on this scale has increased down the centuries. I don't know about Russia, but in Western Europe in the Middle Ages the Black Death was the most terrible scourge of all. Yet it entailed only the death of cities and towns, and, less often, whole regions. Today by pressing a button, the entire human race can be wiped out. One could shield oneself against a bow and arrow. But there is no effective protection against the nuclear bomb.

I certainly believe war could break out. But, even if that does not happen, nuclear weapons should be banned for the simple reason that they have already done a great deal of harm to the human race. The very fact that there are nuclear weapons is evil, for it increases the risk of war and compels whole generations to fear for their lives. Understandably, this has an adverse effect on people generally, and the psychological climate in relations between states, especially between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., also deteriorates.

Then, arms and defence systems have to be modernized all the time. They are terribly expensive. Incidentally, I doubt if most Americans would support SDI. Many support R & D in the hope that this will stimulate the development of space and computer technologies. However, they are against deploying the components of SDI that have already been completed. This is hardly logical.

The withdrawal of SS-20 and Pershing missiles from Europe could improve the situation somewhat. I support your government's proposal for such a withdrawal. I myself have taken part in anti-nuclear demonstrations. After all, if I stay at home, if everyone stays at home, who will ever know what we are up against?

William TOWELL,
New Haven, U.S.

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION

Photograph by Alfred A. La Piccirella of San Severo, Italy.

Like most deaf people, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky seems to be concentrating intently in photographs and film clips. He had a hard life and was seldom seen smiling. Nevertheless, he was one of Russia's — and the world's — most convinced optimists. "My time is almost over," he wrote at 74, "and I am afraid you will depart from this life with a bitter heart, without learning from me that your future has continuous joy in store for you. I want your life to be a radiant dream of the future, of never-ending happiness. I want you to be enraptured by the contemplation of the Universe, by the outlook for all, the miraculous history of each atom's past and future. This will add to your health, lengthen your life and steel you against the vicissitudes of fortune."

AN OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF OUTER SPACE

YAROSLAV GOLOVANOV

These words cannot but move one deeply, not so much by their meaning as by their unfeigned sincerity: the old man was truly afraid we would go in ignorance of the bliss promised by a breakthrough into interstellar space. Tsiolkovsky reflected on mankind's settlements in the solar system. He regarded this migration not as a flight from inexorable epidemics or other earthly disasters; not as an escape from a world conflagration or the abandonment of an exhausted mine. Not at all. It would be a new stride forward in the development of human civilization, a new step in social progress. It would offer new and unlimited scope for the abilities and creative endeavour of innumerable generations to come. It would be happiness!

I was acquainted with Yuri Gagarin, who presented us all with the red-letter World Aviation and Cosmonautics Day, which is observed in April. Also an inveterate optimist, Yuri often said he dreamed of flying to the moon and taking part in expeditions to the closest planets. Cosmonautics meant happiness to him, because doing something after one's own heart makes one happy.

Born in 1957, the space age was a rather vociferous baby (propaganda-wise), but definitely a cheerful, life-asserting and promising one. Now, thirty years later, it would be premature to attempt a summing-up, I think. So let me leave that to posterity and share some of my reflections with you instead.

●

Today people are definitely less optimistic about space research than they used to be. The sentimental appeal of cosmonautics is steadily giving way to apprehensions and fear. As talking points, space settlements have been relegated to the background by star wars and Washington's Strategic Defence Initiative.

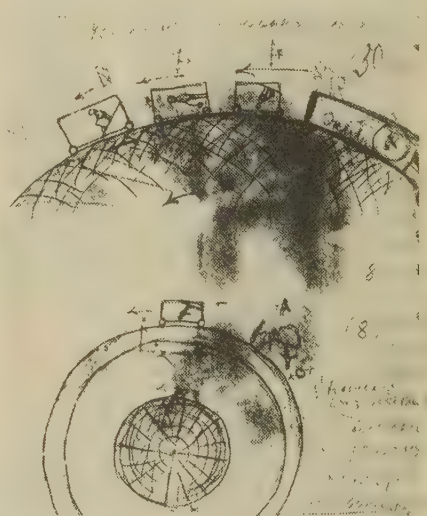
Star wars are older than practical cosmonautics. The American sci-fi author Edmund Hamilton had written his famous "The Kings of the Stars" before the first satellite was launched. The fierce interplanetary wars he described weren't of much interest to anyone except schoolboys and special-effects cameramen, but today's star wars programmes concern us all, because they are scripted by presidents instead of science fiction writers, and the "shooting" is to be done by Pentagon generals instead of trick cameramen. It costs a lot—millions of dollars, perhaps—to make a TV serial about battles in space. But the cost is chicken-feed compared with the estimated $14 billion that U.S. military space expenditure is to amount to next year.

The idea of deploying arms in space occurred to them as soon as they had first got into orbit, but talking about this in the open was then considered improper. U.S. President Lyndon Johnson said in the mid-sixties that outer space would be a road to peace. This, however, did not prevent the Pentagon from channelling a quarter of its military research and development funds into the creation of star wars weaponry.

From the military angle, General Bernard Schriever told American space flight experts in October 1965, it is our responsibility in space to oppose any threat — direct or implied — coming from Soviet space technology and resulting from Soviet political ambitions.

This is a classic case of a thief yealling "Stop thief!" What did the general mean by the threat of Soviet space technology? Valentina Tereshkova's flight, perhaps? Or taking pictures of the other side of the moon? The launchings of the first Venus- and Mars-bound probes? Alexei Leonov's first walk in space? And mark the characteristic turn of speech: "It is our responsibility...." This formula can be used in justification of anything until it occurs to someone to ask: "Now, wait a minute, who has laid this responsibility on you?"

Even the general, however, seemed to realize that stitching epaulettes on to a spacesuit would be too much. So he ended his speech on a peaceful note lest anyone should even suspect the U.S. of planning to militarize space. Actually, all our space research programmes serve the cause of peace, he said. Speaking in Boston a year later, Schriever again held forth on his country's desire to prevent outer space from becoming a battlefield or a new springboard for attacks on ground bases. He was echoed by Democrat George Miller, chairman of the House science and astronautics committee. Space should not be made an arena for international clashes, Miller said.



A sketch by Konstantin Tsiolkovsky.

Who wants to know about these facts of twenty years ago, you may ask. They help us trace the dynamics of the process by comparing the present situation with what it was then. Such a comparison will give us an insight into the future as well.

It follows from the above that in the sixties the U.S. favoured, at least in words, peace in outer space.

- Let us now look at its actions. Following the completion of the Apollo man-on-the-moon programme, the U.S. started increasing allocations to its military space research programmes at the expense of peaceful ones. This trend — or rather long-term policy line — has persisted over the past 15-17 years under all presidents. The top-ranking U.S. military are taking an increasingly tough stand on the matter. In 1983 the U.S. Deputy Air Force Secretary no longer minced his words. Using outer space for military purposes is nothing new, he said. We have made a practice of it from the start.

Yuri Gagarin prepares for take-off.

Photo by A. Mokletsov

Bellicose military are nothing to write home about in the U.S., but many civilians there are that way as well. The astronaut Harrison Schmitt, for instance—a Harvard graduate, the first and only scientist to have set foot on the moon, a man one would very much like to respect for his willpower and courage—clamours for increased military space research and the establishment of a military space command.

In the summer of 1982 the Pentagon's annual space budget exceeded that of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. A space shuttle then put the first-ever all-military payload in orbit. Schmitt's dream of a military space command came true that year. It was then too that President Reagan announced a new national space policy aimed, frankly and unambiguously, at the militarization of cosmonautics. Once a grotesque figment of a sci-fi writer's imagination, star wars became a realistic proposition.

●

I am no expert in world politics and international relations. So much the better. A rocket engineer by education and a science writer of thirty years' standing, I am in a position to view the problem of star wars and SDI from a different perspective.

The White House reiterates that SDI is a strictly defence programme. This is denied by many of the Americans themselves, such as John Oakes, ex-senior editor of the New York Times, a man well-versed in military matters, or USAF Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Bowman (ret.), chairman of the Institute for Space and Security Studies, who says outright that an ABM system set up as part of the star wars programme will not be a defensive one, and explains why.

Let us not go over the arguments reproduced by innumerable newspapers and magazines all over the world. Let us presume for a moment that SDI is indeed a strictly defensive rather than an offensive project. But is it to be welcomed even as such? Not at all. Because even in this case it is inhuman, expensive and illogical.

The idea that the United States can ensure permanent superiority in military technology is absurd, the New York Times wrote with perfect reason. What's more, I would add, the Soviet Union's scientific and technical potential is such that no country can ensure permanent superiority over it in any other sphere of technology. Incidentally, the Soviet Union cannot ensure permanent superiority over other countries either. Nothing doing, such is the reality today.

As a vintage joke goes, the lesson of history is that no one learns from it. That's very true. It was the Americans who made and let off the first A-bomb. Now, decades later, they think the Soviet Union has surpassed the U.S. in its nuclear potential. The Americans were the first to launch an atomic submarine. Since then, certain Americans believe, the U.S.S.R. has built up a nuclear submarine fleet larger than theirs.

Here is how U.S. Secretary of Defence Weinberger explains the idea of SDI: If we succeed in having a system which will be effective and which will make Soviet weapons ineffective, we shall bring back the situation where we were the only nation to possess nuclear weapons. One wonders why a statesman like the U.S. Secretary of Defence has somehow failed to realize that there is no bringing back such a coveted situation for the simple reason that at the present level of science and technology the system required for the purpose is impossible to build, as has been proved beyond doubt by American as well as Soviet experts. Doesn't Washington reckon with expert opinion in its own country? No advocate of SDI vouches for its ability to deflect all the missiles of a potential enemy.

I am prepared to presume that no missile will pierce this shield, that 100 per cent protection is guaranteed. But don't we know from history that what is considered invulnerable today becomes very vulnerable tomorrow? Having built their Tiger tank, the nazis believed no Soviet artillery shells they knew of would be able to pierce its armour, and that it would roll its way to the Urals. But the Tiger never got there: it was smashed. Had its armour been thicker still, it would have been pierced anyway.

And another thing. Isn't it clear that as distinct from ground warfare, in which the attacking side is always more vulnerable than that on the defensive, in space it's the other way round: the very system of defence is much more vulnerable than the forces attacking it. All these cyclopic laser guns orbiting the earth are much like our Civil War armoured trains which a bearded forest-dwelling partisan could easily derail by means of a crowbar.

The components of the SDI system will be heavy and extremely cumbersome because today's missile technology can offer no facilities capable of promptly adjusting these elements for altitude and orbit inclination angle —these orbits can therefore be likened to rails the armoured trains of old used to roll along.

It would be presumptuous of me to think that what I, a journalist, realize, Pentagon generals and White House and Capitol Hill politicians don't. They

certainly do. But one should bear it in mind that SDI is not only a military programme, but a political and even an ideological one as well. Writing in the New York Times, the above-mentioned John Oakes observed that approximate military parity with the U.S. makes it quite unnecessary for the Soviet Union to start a new arms race, which would devour the enormous funds required to meet the constantly increasing demand for consumer goods and improve living standards in the U.S.S.R.

The American is right. We certainly don't want a new arms race. This being so, they want to thrust it on us. We shall have to respond to SDI somehow. Can this interfere with the economic and social reforms we are determined to carry out? The answer is yes. Any economist can see that. We shall carry out these reforms all right but the effort will take us longer, and the strain will be greater.

The architects and ideologists of SDI nourish the hope that in this case they will be able to tell the world: "Look, all their plans have come to nothing because their system itself is fatally flawed!" Fully aware that it is impossible to prevail militarily, they will go all out to prevail ideologically by means of military technology.

I shall quote Robert Bowman simply to show that I am not the only one to have "seen the light." The most ardent advocates of SDI in the Reagan administration, he writes, are known to include out-and-out Russophobes, East European émigrés for the most part, who favour a policy aimed at overthrowing the current regime in the Soviet Union.

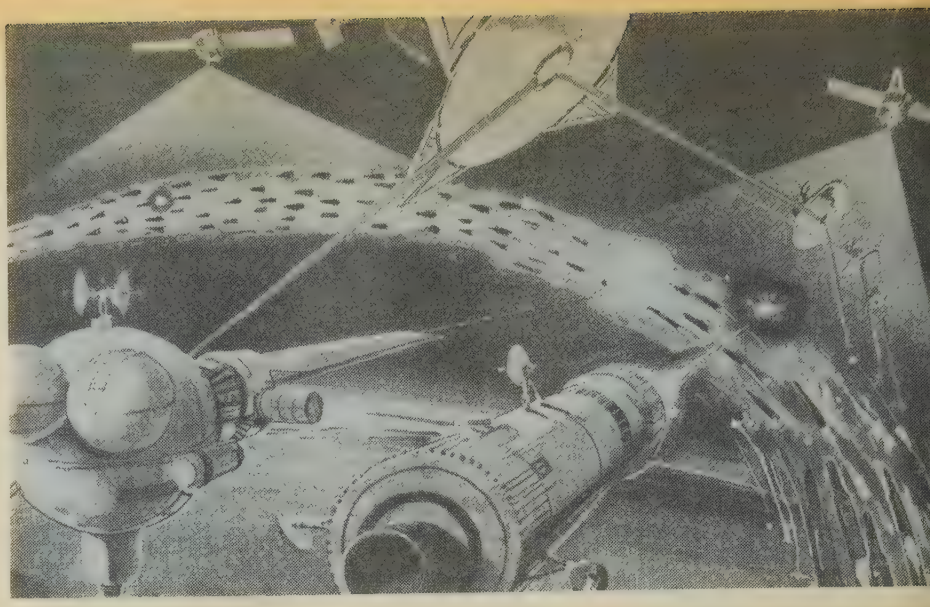
It follows from the above that SDI is much more of an anti-Soviet than of a defence initiative.

One does not need the brain of a statesman to understand the simple truth that, important as it is to reign over outer space, reigning over people's minds is more important still.

●

To think of all the money and effort wasted on a venture which, I repeat, is inhuman and senseless! The Americans are richer than we are, they were able to afford to spend about $25 billion on their Apollo programme, which they themselves later referred to as "too expensive." This expenditure did not undermine the U.S. economy, but strained some parts of it.

Within five years of the first moon landing I was in Pasadena, in the famous jet propulsion laboratory, the birthplace of the first American satellite and of many ingenious automatic space vehicles. My hosts and I discussed in particular a future expedition to Mars. At a preliminary estimate, it will cost an appalling $100 billion. "We can't go it alone," the Americans told me. "We must pool our efforts and go together." Notably, our Academician V. Avduyevsky expressed the same view a decade later. This is a costly project, indeed. On the other hand, Stanford University in the United States came up with statistics which put the expenses involved in building the first echelon of SDI alone at $500 billion, which is only a fraction of the price of the entire "layer-cake" system. Senator William Proxmire wrote about a year ago that the development and production of star wars technology would cost a trillion dollars at least.



Reagan's America dreams of SDI, implementing it on the drawing board and testing some of its components. It threatens us.

An artist's impression from the U.S. News and World Report

If the Americans think a $100 billion bill hard to foot, how are they going to defray a sum ten times as big? And why should they, for that matter? Let us use plain logic. Supposing they build the system, after all. If it doesn't work, it will be about as useful as a plane unfit to fly or a non-operational open-hearth furnace. If it works and ever goes into action, there will be no survivors left to use it.

I heard some of our engineers say: "The Americans will go ahead with SDI because they have to keep the production facilities of the military-industrial complex busy and create tens of millions of jobs."

Well, there is no denying that a production slump spells a crisis and that tens of millions of jobless is a national disaster. But why should tens of millions of people be engaged in making something utterly worthless? Why can't they get down to some useful work — building an underwater laboratory, or engirdling the planet with a monorail, or erecting a dome-covered city in the Antarctic. If they are so space-minded, it's all the better.

Practical cosmonautics keeps reminding us that modern spacecraft stand in need of continuous improvement. A successful record of the shuttle lift-offs and of our own transports' dockings has been marred by the Challenger tragedy and by the failure of the last-launched cargo module Kvant to dock with the Mir station. I am convinced that the ideal space vehicle is hardly forthcoming in the foreseeable future. Doesn't creating such a vehicle give scope for noble and useful endeavour?

Our noted cosmonautics enthusiast Fridrikh Tsander, the 100th anniversary of whose birth will be marked this year, died half a century before the star wars programme was first heard of, but much of what he wrote still holds true. Here is one quotation, for instance: "As one looks up at the sky on a clear autumn night and sees the stars sparkling in it, one cannot help but think that intelligent beings thousands of years ahead of us culturally may be living out there on the distant planets. What untold cultural wealth could be brought back for the benefit of our planet, our science, if man managed to reach them, and how little this great undertaking would require as compared with what mankind dissipates."

Now Fridrikh Tsander has got himself a serious opponent—Ronald Reagan. It's not only that the latter persists in regarding useless expenditures as useful. Reagan questions the existence of intelligent life anywhere. On September 30, 1981 he had the extraterrestrial

civilization search project discontinued, but later, under pressure from scientists, allocated a mere pittance — about $1.5 million a year — to this effort. Very good, let him not share Giordano Bruno's hypothesis that there is a multitude of inhabited worlds in the Universe. But even leaving the quest for our intelligent fellow-beings apart, space offers unlimited scope for much cheaper activities — and, most importantly, much more useful to mankind — than SDI. In any case, "star peace" is an incomparably worthier cause to work for than "star wars."

The idea of building solar power stations to transmit much-needed energy to earth by means of the selfsame laser devices is becoming increasingly realistic. Why don't the companies now busy developing laser guns for star wars switch over to these devices? It wouldn't take many readjustments!

The prospect of creating extraterrestrial factories depending on space vacuum and zero gravity for their operation is most attractive. Would those now busy designing a space fort have any trouble switching over to space factories?

Experts are now giving matter-of-fact discussion to ways of towing asteroids which could be of help to earthlings in solving many of their raw material problems. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has established that 100 million tons of asteroid ore can be melted in solar furnaces moving in round-the-earth orbits. Just one cubic kilometre of asteroid matter would keep our earth supplied with iron for 15 years, and with nickel for 1,250 years. This amount of metal is worth five trillion dollars; while it will cost only $1.7 billion — an eighth of next year's U.S. star wars expenses — to carry out the asteroid capture project. Wouldn't it be wonderful to modify the shuttles into asteroid hunters, instead of stuffing them with spy satellites?

"We have submitted to the United Nations," Mikhail Gorbachev told Nobel Peace Prize winners in the Kremlin, "a broad programme for peaceful cooperation in space. The U.S.S.R. suggests establishing a world space organization to coordinate efforts in this global undertaking. The organization will be concerned with fundamental research and the launching of interplanetary ships—to Mars, for instance — as instruments of this research!"

As I read a report on this Kremlin meeting, I recalled the proposed expedition to Mars we had discussed in Pasadena. According to Soviet and American experts, such an expedition is technically quite feasible. On the more practical side, we have already gained some experience of cooperation in outer space: the Apollo-Soyuz project was a reality. We all but agreed on the American shuttles taking international crews to our Salyuts (in January 1975 this possibility was brought up by none other than Frank Moss, chairman of the Senate aeronautical and space sciences committee, who obviously did not regard the project as so much science fiction).

Earlier still, back in 1969, President Nixon had said that in thirty years we earthlings would visit new worlds and detect some forms of life there, while Vice-President Agnew called for landing a man on Mars by the year 2000. Well, let's do it! Let's look for these new forms of life! This is much more interesting than shooting down nuclear warheads, which can be eliminated in a more simple way — by banning their production once and for all and destroying all stockpiles (not in space, but on earth, which is easier).

A flight to Mars will be a costly business, but as distinct from star wars it will make a lot of sense. It could be the first remarkable example of the consolidation of all mankind's efforts and potential, an example of global cooperation — the first undertaking to be carried out not by whites, blacks or yellow men, not by Americans, Russians or Chinese, not by Christians, Buddhists or atheists, not by Communists, capitalists or people adhering to no ideology, but by EARTHLINGS.

Preparations for a flight to Mars alone will greatly enrich biology, medicine, the science of materials, computer and communication technology — to name but a few spheres that would benefit from space research. All the individuals now engaged in carrying out the SDI project, all the companies, universities and laboratories would be able to apply themselves to this programme without fear of unemployment and crisis.

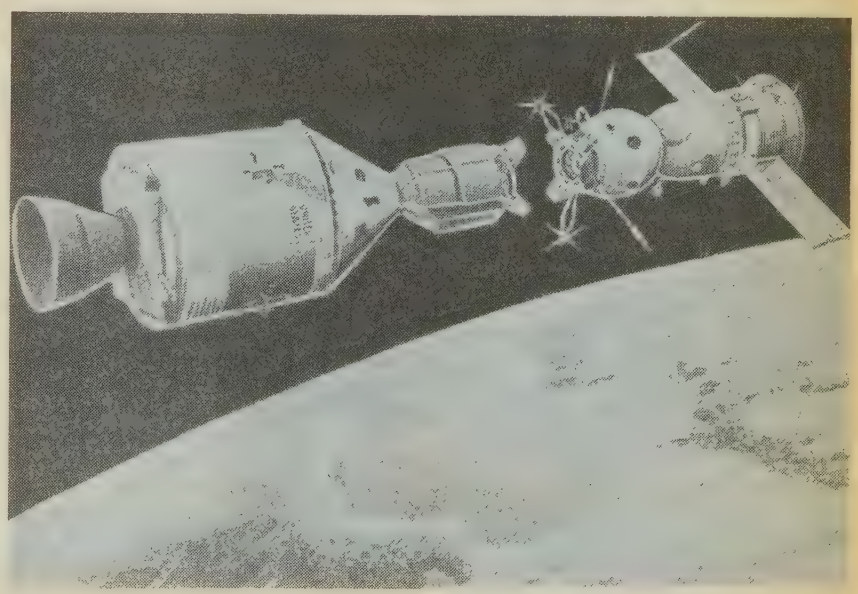
When two Soviet automatic space probes were approaching Halley's comet as part of the VEHA project, the outstanding American astrophysicist Carl Sagan visited Moscow. I wish I had met and shaken hands with him then. Carl Sagan is an enthusiastic propagandist for a joint Soviet-American flight to Mars. When can such a flight be arranged, he was asked. We are hardly likely to reach Mars before this decade is out, Sagan replied. Not as early as that. However, a Soviet manned flight to the environs of Mars could easily be accomplished by 1992, i.e., by the 75th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The year 1992 will also mark, as you know, the 500th anniversary of what is commonly referred to as the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus. Can this date, he said, be celebrated in a better way than by launching an international programme for the discovery of another new world?

Carl Sagan is an optimist. I like optimists. I am also convinced that the future of cosmonautics does not lie in star wars, because star wars have no future.

Some readers may accuse me of naiveté. This is, incidentally, not the worst of sins nowadays. What I would not wish to be accused of is insincerity. ■

The Soyuz-Apollo space rendezvous.

An artist's impression from a Novosti Press Agency booklet



The last days of President Roosevelt

Doctor of history Victor Malkov reconstructs, on the basis of new documents and studies, the events of the last days of the life of the 32nd President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who died on April 12, 1945.

...Washington, Thursday, March 1, 1945, 12.32 p.m. The session hall of the House of Representatives is filled to overflowing. President Roosevelt is about to report to the joint session of both Houses of Congress on the Yalta Conference of the Allied powers. Physically exhausted, he apologises "for sitting down during the presentation of what I want to say," and then goes on:

"It has been a long journey. I hope you will also agree that it has been, so far, a fruitful one."

Contrary to his customary manner, he spoke in low tones, at times, even indistinctly. He seemed to be thinking aloud, often departing from the prepared text of his speech. Sam Rosenman, who had worked with the President on the draft of the speech, counted 49 such departures. However, he ended on his customary emphatic note, underscoring the significance of what he had to say:

"It cannot be an American peace, or a British, a Russian, a French or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations—or of small nations. It must be peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world."

His closing words were met with an ovation. After addressing Congress, Roosevelt went for a few days' rest to his ancestral estate Hyde Park. Fatigue was making itself felt, and he intended strictly to follow the advice of his doctors and his daughter Anna to shorten his working hours and not overburden them with work involving nervous strain. It was assumed that at the end of March he would spend a fortnight's holiday at the Little White House, his small estate in Warm Springs, Georgia, and prepare his speech at the opening of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

Did the President know that he had only six weeks left to live? Ahead of him were days which, it seemed, would witness the consummation of the long years of the labours of this remarkable man. World War II was coming to an end in Europe, the war in the Far East had entered its final phase, the Yalta Conference had inspired optimism as regards the outlook for laying the foundations of durable peace.

President Roosevelt on the way back from Yalta, left to right: Winant, U.S. ambassador to Britain, Roosevelt, Secretary of State Stettinius and Harry Hopkins.

The White House, March

But the days left to him were difficult ones. The domestic political situation was particularly complicated. The tension had heightened on the eve of Yalta and did not wane after it, when the opposition press, once the initial wave of approval had subsided, proceeded to stir up public feeling by deliberately sensationalized "speculation" about secret agreements having allegedly been concluded in Yalta. This angered the President, all the more because he was unable to scotch these rumours at a press conference—wartime exigencies ruled this out.

Besides, Harry Hopkins, who always knew how to put troublemakers in their place, was absent. On the way home from the Crimea, the President had parted company with his closest adviser, the state of whose health had made it necessary for him to go to Minnesota for medical treatment at the Mayo Clinic. While adding to the burden of work, Hopkins' absence from the White House disrupted the decision-making process established over the years.

Outwardly everything seemed unchanged. The President's workday began between 8 and 9 a.m. By 10.30 a.m. he had looked through urgent telegrams and papers selected by his secretarial staff, after which he headed for the Oval Office. On the way there the President sometimes looked in at the Map Room, where all the information on the direction of U.S. military-strategic operations and diplomatic activity during the war converged and where Hopkins had been in charge for many years.

On his way to the Oval Office the President was now accompanied as often as not by Admiral William Leahy, the chief of his personal military staff. Roosevelt knew full well how much the views of this prominent representative of the military differed from those of his own long-standing associates, and especially Hopkins. But everyone took this for granted: one of the most notable traits of Roosevelt, the statesman, was his desire and his ability to work with people of widely divergent political views.

Why did he choose Leahy? Partly because they were old friends. And partly because military-strategic problems had

moved sharply to the fore on the President's agenda.

Talk with Stimson

On March 15, 1945, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson came to Roosevelt with a matter of the utmost urgency. It concerned the atomic bomb.

When the door closed behind Stimson, the entire history of the creation of this mass destruction weapon might have passed before the mind's eye of the President. Einstein's letter and the beginning of work in collaboration with the British... the appointment of Robert Oppenheimer as head of the research centre in Los Alamos, and his instructions to the latter not to let Hitler get ahead of the United States in the development of the atomic weapon... the problem of informing the Soviet Union... the request of his old friend, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, to receive Niels Bohr...

What did Bohr wish to take up with the President? The great physicist held that for the sake of preserving trust among the Allies it was necessary to inform the Soviet Union of the work under way on the top-secret project. Frankfurter had told the President of this as far back as April 1944.

Roosevelt had read Bohr's memorandum of July 3, 1944, which Frankfurter had passed on to him. He received the scientist on August 26. The outcome is well known: Bohr's contention that monopoly of the atomic weapon could only be temporary did not strike the President as convincing. Roosevelt allowed himself to be persuaded by Churchill and joined him in taking a negative attitude to the proposal to inform the Soviet Union of the Manhattan Project. More, by signing with Churchill the memorandum of September 19, the President as much as sanctioned the surveillance of Niels Bohr by U.S. and British special services.

And now on March 15 Stimson raised the question again, reminding the President of the views expressed by the now "disgraced" Bohr.

Two years later the Secretary of War, who favoured international control of the atomic weapon, gave an account in the Washington Post of this important episode.

"On March 15, 1945," he wrote, "I had my last talk with President Roosevelt. My diary record of this conversation gives a fairly clear picture of the state of our thinking at that time.

"Then I outlined to him the future of it [the Manhattan Project—V.M.] and when it was likely to come off, and told him how important it was to get ready. I went over with him the two schools of thought that exist in respect to the future control after the war of this project, in case it is successful, one of them being... control of the project by those who control it now, the other being the international control based upon freedom both of science and access. I told him that those things must be settled before the first projectile is

President Roosevelt addressing Congress on March 1, 1945.

used and that he must be ready with a statement to come out to the people on it just as soon as that is done. He agreed to that."

Niels Bohr warns

How to decipher this diary entry of Stimson's? It is difficult to give a definite answer to this question. There are, of course, grounds to assume that the conflict between Roosevelt and Bohr was not just a tragic misunderstanding. Many facts indicate that Roosevelt, like Churchill, took a hard line on this issue, rejecting the idea of international control of the atomic weapon and of sharing that control with the other powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. Nevertheless this cannot be categorically asserted. His vast experience as a statesman, his highly developed sense of history, and, lastly, his ability to listen to the opinion of his closest associates, many of whom belonged to the same "school of thought" as Frankfurter, prompted him to return again and again to what was seemingly a settled question. The brief spells of solitude at Warm Springs (these had become regular) were always used by Roosevelt for reflection on especially difficult problems of domestic and foreign policy.

Was the President, then, prepared to adhere to his former position? After all, on August 26, 1944, he had agreed with Bohr on many points. He had even asked the physicist to provide him with arguments proving the inacceptability of an atomic arms race.

There is evidence that there was more in the relations between Bohr and Roosevelt than appeared on the surface. What other explanation is there for the appearance among Frankfurter's papers of an "addendum" to the Bohr memorandum of July 3, 1944? It is dated March 24, 1945. And its contents clearly indicate that neither Bohr nor Frankfurter had lost hope of another meeting with Roosevelt and of a positive solution in principle of the problem of international control of the atomic weapon.

It is noteworthy that in this document Bohr again pointed out that in the course of scientific and technological progress many countries (primarily the Soviet Union) were bound to come into possession of the secrets of the production of atom bombs. If underestimation of their potential predominates, mankind will inevitably become hostage to an arms race with "powers of destruction surpassing all previous imagination."

The final part of the "addendum" was written by Bohr as if in continuation of his talk with Roosevelt on that promising August 26, 1944, when the President had asked him for conclusive arguments showing the inacceptability of the piling up of the new monster weapon and—even more so—of rivalry in developing it. "Humanity," Bohr said, as if in reply, "will, therefore, be confronted with dangers of unprecedented character unless in due time measures can be taken to forestall a disastrous competition in such formidable armaments and to establish an international control of the manufacture and use of the powerful materials."

Whether this document reached Roosevelt or not is unclear. In all probability it did not. At any rate the correspondence of Frankfurter to whom Bohr handed his "addendum" shows that neither in March nor in April 1945 did Bohr have another opportunity to talk to the President again, although he was eager for such a talk. But on March 15, 1945, Stimson brought Roosevelt back to this painful subject.

Later, Robert Oppenheimer was to say that they had done the Devil's work. He refused to participate in the making of a hydrogen bomb, believing that this would lead to a nuclear arms race. At the height of the McCarthy hysteria in the U.S., Eleanor Roosevelt was to

write to Oppenheimer voicing her approval of his decision, thereby indicating to what extent Oppenheimer's civic courage had been in tune with the option Roosevelt had been considering in March and early April 1945. Nor can it be seen as a mere coincidence that exactly a year after his last meeting with Roosevelt, the now retired Secretary of War Stimson wrote in an article published in the then popular Harper's Magazine:

"We must not delay," he wrote. The poisons of the past are persistent and cannot be purged by timid treatment. By its sole possession of the bomb, at least for the present, the U.S. finds itself in a position of world leadership. But this solitary possession is most certainly very transient. It must recognize this and act swiftly. It must take the lead by holding out an open hand to other nations in a spirit of genuine trust and with a real desire for a thoroughgoing cooperation effort in meeting and solving the problem."

Alas, Stimson's call fell on deaf ears.

The Earle affair

March 29 was the date Roosevelt set for his departure for Warm Springs. When he took this decision in order if only briefly to be outside the zone of "heightened political activity," Roosevelt assumed that in the following two weeks passions would subside. After that, the main thing would happen—victory in Europe—which would automatically remove from the order of the day many of the acute problems on which the anti-Roosevelt opposition sought to capitalize. However, the President's hopes of being able to have a brief rest and, above all, to concentrate on key international and domestic issues, were not destined to materialize. Certain quarters had decided to take advantage of the President's absence from Washington and the pause in his contacts with the press to stir up a row, as William Bullitt had done two years before, when he publicly propounded the need to prepare for war against the Soviet Union. This time the role of "troublemaker" was assigned to the prominent Democrat George H. Earle, who had for nearly three years worked for U.S. intelligence in Turkey.

The President had known Earle for a long time. Former governor of Pennsylvania and a man of means who had rendered no few services to Roosevelt during election campaigns, Earle had been given important diplomatic posts as ambassador to Vienna and Sofia. Moreover, Roosevelt had chosen him as a confidential aide in secret operations in the Balkans. This was again a case of choosing a man whose political views were sharply at variance with his own.

Earle's activities in Turkey ran completely counter to Roosevelt's policy. Being a rabid anti-communist, Earle did everything in his power to undermine the anti-Hitler coalition; he entered into secret contacts with von Papen, the German ambassador in Turkey, and with the Abwehr chief, Admiral Canaris, with a view to making a separate compact against the U.S.S.R.

On the eve of Roosevelt's departure for Warm Springs, Earle informed the President of his intention to write a series of articles for the press opposing cooperation with the Soviet Union. The fact that Earle was a close acquaintance of the President and other prominent members of the administration made the situation not just delicate but dangerous. His harangues on the subject of "chances" the Western allies had "missed" of concluding a separate peace treaty with Germany and "saving" the countries of Eastern Europe were liable to evoke a new wave of anti-Sovietism among certain sections of American society. At the same time they could discredit the administration in the eyes of world public opinion.

Important negotiations and, by all the signs, a new meeting between the Big Three, were in the offing. To go to these negotiations to the accompaniment of diverse speculation caused by Earle's "confessions" was a risk Roosevelt was unwilling to take. There was no time to ascertain the motives behind Earle's desertion—an inquiry might have too far-reaching repercussions. And so the President took it upon himself to write to Earle personally, reminding him of his duty as an officer of the United States Navy in time of war. The letter is dated March 24, 1945. Here it is:

"Dear George: I have read your letter of March 21st to my daughter Anna and I have noted with concern your plan to publicize your unfavourable opinion of one of our allies at the very time when such a publication from a former emissary of mine might do irreparable harm to our war effort. As you say, you have held important positions of trust under your government. To publish information obtained in those positions without proper authority would be all the greater betrayal. You say you will publish unless you are told before March 28th that I do not wish you to do so. I not only do not wish it but I specifically forbid you to publish any information or opinion about an ally that you may have acquired while in office or in the service of the United States Navy."

On March 26, Earle replied: "I have your letter of March 24. Your order as my Commander-in-Chief I shall obey to the letter." There followed a flood of assurances of personal devotion to the President and complaints about having been misunderstood. The incident, it would seem, was closed and the Earle affair could be filed away. The tension, however, did not abate. Robert Sherwood, a former White House staff member, just back from General MacArthur's headquarters, told the President that everydoby over there, including the commander himself, considered that White House policy was under the influence of the Communists and the British imperialists. The fact that Earle's attacks on the "Yalta spirit" practically coincided with anti-Soviet sallies in the U.S. and British right-wing press heightened the atmosphere of impending crisis.

As if guided by some invisible hand, a series of attacks were levelled at Rooseveit: now it was Earle's provocation, now Churchill's attempts to get the Yalta decisions on Poland (which Roosevelt considered a realistic basis for agreement) revised, now onslaughts by the Hearst, Patterson and McCormick press.

But perhaps the sharpest collision centred around the "Berne incident."

(To be continued)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1945.

Dear George,

I have read your letter of March 21st to my daughter Anna and I have noted with concern your plan to publicize your unfavorable opinion of one of our allies at the very time when such a publication from a former emissary of mine might do irreparable harm to our war effort. As you say, you have held important positions of trust under your Government. To publish information obtained in those positions without proper authority would be all the greater betrayal. You say you will publish unless you are told before march 28th that I do not wish you to do so. I not only do not wish but I specifically forbid you to publish any information or opinion about an ally that you may have acquired while in office or in the service of the United States Navy.

In view of your wish for continued active service, I shall withdraw any previous understanding that you are serving as an emissary of mine and I shall direct the Navy Department to continue your employment wherever they can make use of your services.

I am sorry that pressure of affairs prevented me from seeing you on monday. I value our old association and I hope that time and circumstance may some day permit a renewal of our good understanding.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Commander George H. Earle, U.S.N.R.,
The Racquet Club,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Roosevelt's letter to George Earle.

The Shenzhen model

How China is implementing its policy of reviving the economy and expanding its ties with the outside world

MIKHAIL YAKOVLEV

A young roadbuilder.

The special economic zone of Shenzhen, which stretches along the coast of Guangdong Province, is often called "a state within a state." Along the entire length of its internal border there is either a high wire fence or a brick wall. Special permission is required to enter or leave the Shenzhen zone, both for the Chinese themselves and for foreigners.

I had the opportunity to visit the zone twice, the second time being in December 1986.

Long-term, basic policy

In any discussion of the present-day Chinese economy, Shenzhen is mentioned as often as Peking, Shanghai or any other major city. Seven years ago the small provincial town of Baoan (as Shenzhen was then called) was little known. Why has it now become so famous, a venue for businessmen, journalists and tourists alike? The answer lies in the role it plays today in the economic life of the Chinese People's Republic.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, at its meeting in December 1978, outlined the republic's new economic policy. It was designed to pull the national economy out of the stagnation that had resulted from the "great leap" and the "cultural revolution" that followed. But China did not have the resources needed to implement the new policy. It was therefore decided to expand economic ties with the developed Western countries and Japan in order to obtain the necessary capital and modern technology from them. As Chinese economists say, it was necessary to turn to foreign capital, as the country had an acute financial shortfall, with an abundance of labour and rich mineral resources. This prompted the "appearance of a long-term government policy." In an interview with the American magazine The Atlantic, the acting General Secretary of the Communist Party, Premier Zhao Ziyang, noted that the new policy, which some people incorrectly call the "open door policy," is a long-term basic policy designed to promote China's revival and the enrichment of its people. We shall not stop, he underlined, at what has been achieved, but shall continue to advance.

Four special economic zones have been set up in the south of China: Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou in Guangdong Province, and Xiamen in Fujian Province. They have been given special rights in developing foreign economic ties. The purpose is to attract foreign investments into the economy and introduce modern technology and equipment, along with new methods of management. Initially, the most active investors were rich Chinese from Hongkong and Macao. Of the new economic zones, Shenzhen, which borders on Hongkong, is the biggest and fastest growing. Its area is 327.5 square kilometres.

...A quick lift took us to the platform on the roof of the 53-storey International Trade Centre. When I saw the building in 1985, it was still under construction. Today the centre is operational. From the roof there is a splendid view: peasant allotments have been replaced with wide streets, multistorey blocks of flats, administrative buildings and industrial enterprises. Below lies not only a new town, but a modern one. More than 9 million square metres of flats, offices and factories have been built in the zone. And a modern port able to receive big ocean vessels is under construction in its industrial sector, Shekou. All this has been achieved in just seven years. The scale, novelty and boldness of the plans, and the speed at which they have been implemented, are impressive.

In the distance are the skyscrapers of Hongkong, at the moment still a colony, but due to form a single unit with Shenzhen when it is returned to China in 1997. Capital construction in the zone is at present financed by the zone itself, as well as by bank loans and foreign capital. State allocations are negligible. Construction work is being carried out by more than 100 building organizations from nine provinces of the republic and Hongkong. As for industrial enterprises, the construction of most of them is financed by foreign capital.

Special attention is being paid to financing export industries. Initially, it was believed that the entire output of the factories built on foreign capital would be exported. In practice this did not work out for a number of reasons, and at present up to two thirds of the output is sold on the domestic market.

Since 1979 something of the order of 5,000 contracts worth $3.8 billion have been signed with foreign companies. They have already invested $960 million. Half the 1,200 economic projects are industrial enterprises. Of this number, 250 have already been commissioned and account for 60 per cent of the zone's exports, while their gross output last year totalled 2.3 billion yuan ($622 million)—65 per cent of the zone's total output.

Tests, checks and a quest

There is no single system of industrial management in Shenzhen. At state-run factories the laws and system of the Chinese People's Republic operate, while at factories built exclusively on foreign capital the system of the creditor country prevails, but the owners are obliged to abide by the local laws. The Chinese side plays no part in running these factories. Mixed companies have a joint management with a Chinese representative at its head. The number of members of the board from each side depends on their respective capital contributions.

"Have the hopes initially pinned on the special economic zones been justified?" we asked the mayor of Shenzhen, Li Hao, when he received the Soviet journalists visiting China at the invitation of the All-China Journalists' Association.

"As you can see," he replied, "in the past six years with the help of foreign investments we have built a great deal,

and laid roads and communications. In other words, some of the initially set targets have been achieved. Now we have set ourselves a new objective—to develop high-technology industries so that the new factories produce chiefly for export. That goal existed before as well, but insufficient attention was paid to it, and too little time has elapsed. Now we are coming to grips with the problem and are making it our first priority."

Till now assembly and processing operations have predominated in Shenzhen's industry. Western firms, and especially the Japanese, jealously guard their technological achievements, fearing competition from China. Zou Erkang, a senior official of the city authorities, told us that the capitalist industrialists sought chiefly to take advantage of the cheap labour and capture the Chinese domestic market. They were trying to reorientate factories in the special economic zone and direct them towards the domestic market.

The paper Renmin ribao noted that restrictions on the scale of capital construction and improvements in the structure of foreign investments had become important factors in the "steady, stable and harmonious development of Shenzhen's economy in the past year." Despite the fact that the volume of capital investments in 1986 dropped by almost a billion yuan as compared with the previous year, there was a considerable growth in the gross industrial output, the volume of foreign trade, budget revenues and income from foreign tourism. This was the result of the steps taken to limit capital construction. They had an immediate positive effect on production efficiency.

In 1986 the Shenzhen city authorities decided not to build cafés, hotels, high-rise buildings and other non-productive ventures over the next two-three years, and to suspend work on 72 such projects. Material resources were concentrated on key projects in industry, transport and the power industry. The quality of construction and installation work improved perceptibly. A total of 153 industrial enterprises were commissioned, including 85 founded by foreign capital —a record figure.

The reduction in the scale of capital construction, Renmin ribao reported, made it possible to find substantial funds for boosting industrial output. They increased by almost 300 million yuan as compared with the previous year. At the same time a special centre for the allocation of foreign currency was set up. It decided how over $50 million should be distributed between the different enterprises. Overall industrial output in 1986, the paper noted, exceeded 3.5 billion yuan, an increase of 31.1 per cent over 1985. Exports amounted to $670 million—19 per cent more than in 1985. Contributions to the budget rose by almost 15 per cent, and the profits of enterprises increased 2.6 times over.

Shenzhen lives a life of its own, unlike other parts of China. Before it was made a special economic zone, it had a population of only 20,000. Today the number has risen to over 400,000, with about half of them temporary residents (recruited from other parts of the country). The zone has its own laws, although the regime is the same as elsewhere in China. Modern shops offer a wide variety of goods that can be bought for U.S. and Hongkong dollars as well as for Chinese yuan. Imported goods are sold chiefly for U.S. and Hongkong dollars.

A high standard of living has been created (probably artificially) in Shenzhen. Comfortable homes are built for workers, and they also enjoy other benefits—for instance, in the field of transport, services and pensions. The average wage is 240 yuan a month, which is 2.5-3 times greater than in other parts of the country.

"Poverty is a thing of the past in Shenzhen," the chief of the Xinhua news agency office in the zone, He Yunhua, told me. "In the past the local population tried to flee to Hongkong in search of means of subsistence. Now almost no one wants to leave the zone."

Shenzhen and the other special economic zones are playing a leading role in China's policy of reviving the economy and expanding its ties with the rest of the world. They could be described as testing grounds for the new ideas and political principles of foreign economic activity. It is there that the search is being carried out for the best ways of attracting foreign investments, importing advanced technology, and testing new methods of management.

One task of the special economic zones is to gain the experience that can then be applied in other internal regions. What is borrowed from other countries is tested, adjusted and assessed in the zones—and only then passed on to other parts of the country.

On the whole, China's leaders have given a thumbs up to the operation of the special economic zones. It is planned to expand their activities. For example, it is hoped that $7 billion in foreign investments will have been attracted to Shenzhen by the turn of the century.

The State Council has resolved to extend territorially the sphere of operation of the policy of reviving the economy and expanding ties with the outside world.

Assemblying toys for export to the United States.
From the National Geographic (U.S.)

From the coastal areas to the interior

Fourteen coastal cities and the island of Hainan were opened to foreign capital in 1984. Now other areas, internal ones included, have been given the right to attract foreign capital. As the deputy chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Peng Chong, told Soviet journalists, that means that a fairly extensive economic zone is now open to the outside world. It stretches from Shandong Province in the north, runs south along the coast, and takes in the city of Shanghai, Guangdong Province, Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region, and Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi and Jiangsu provinces. The State Council member responsible for foreign affairs, Gu Mu, in an inter-

view with the paper Jingji ribao, defined the limits of this policy as "special economic zones—coastal open cities—coastal open economic regions—internal regions."

The wide use of foreign capital began in China after 1980. And by the end of October 1986, foreign investments (without loans) amounted to $5.9 billion, Gu Mu revealed. Agreements and contracts were signed for the construction of 7,300 projects, a third of which are already operational. Eighty per cent of them are sited in coastal provinces and cities. Gu Mu also noted the considerable economic achievements of 14 open coastal cities, where more than 4,000 projects have been modernized with the help of foreign equipment, technology and capital. This modernization of major enterprises has made possible the production of more than 100 types of goods for export in Tianjin, and greatly increased the proportion of export goods in Nantong.

There are different forms of foreign investment in the Chinese economy: foreign enterprises and mixed Chinese, foreign enterprises. Till now the main foreign investors remain the numerous small companies from Hongkong and Macao. As for major investors from the capitalist world, they are feeling their way cautiously, aware of the rudimentary nature of Chinese investment laws and the chronic shortage of energy, transport facilities and highly skilled labour.

China has already signed agreements that will bring $25 billion to the Chinese economy from abroad. Chinese economists maintain that foreign capital has helped resume the construction of many frozen projects and start new ones. As for importing equipment, this promotes the technical retooling of enterprises and increases their economic effectiveness and labour productivity.

China seeks not only to import modern machines and technology, but to create the conditions for their reproduction in China. As Deputy Premier of the State Council Li Peng explained, "the borrowing of advanced technology and management experience from foreign countries and the use of foreign capital are important additions to socialist construction."

China's leaders invariably emphasize that in attracting foreign capital China seeks to ensure that the principles of equality and mutual advantage be strictly observed. At the same time, the Chinese side is trying to create the most favourable conditions for foreign investors.

"If we are the only ones to benefit," Peng Chong observed, "we can't expect others to offer us capital. Income tax for foreign industrialists is 15 per cent, against 50 per cent in the country as a whole."

However, in the capitals of a number of developed capitalist countries, especially in Washington, no secret is made of the fact that they are counting on being able to use China's present economic policy to wield political and ideological influence on China, and through capital investments influence the social and economic processes in the country.

The Chinese press has lately written much about the penetration of bourgeois ideology into Chinese society and about "bourgeois liberalization." Renmin ribao noted recently that in the last few years people in the ideological and cultural fields have taken advantage of the reform to come out with views that run counter to the basic principles of socialist construction in China. As the Chinese press put it, the apologists for "bourgeois liberalization" advocate "the blind aping of the West." They seek to change the socialist course of development of the Chinese People's Republic and switch it to the capitalist course.

The facts indicate that the United States and its allies are counting on creating a social group in China educated in the spirit of the Western, American way of life. It should be remembered that half the 30,000 Chinese students studying abroad are in the United States.

In its Chinese-language broadcasts The Voice of America has sided with those who participated in the student demonstrations that took place in a number of Chinese cities. The Xinhua news agency reported that in one Voice of America programme the hope was expressed that "Chinese students would not lose heart," adding that "their demonstrations instil a feeling of satisfaction among dissidents the world over." "What is the purpose of such broadcasts?" asks the Xinhua news agency. "We should stop and think about that."

Officials underline that they are far from underestimating the danger of the penetration of an alien ideology and alien influences in Chinese society. But they believe that the outcome of the economic policy now being pursued by China will not be decided by adverse factors.

Peking—Shenzhen—Moscow

APPOINTMENTS

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Indonesia

Vladimir Mikhailovich SEMYONOV

Vladimir Semyonov, a Russian, was born on August 17, 1928, in the town of Petrovsk, Saratov Region. In 1951 he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations under the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry. He has been a Communist Party member since 1953.

After graduation he was enlisted as a member of the Foreign Ministry staff. From 1954 to 1959 he held successively the posts of attaché and third secretary at the Soviet embassy in Britain. In 1959-62 he returned to work with the Ministry in Moscow. In 1962-68 he was first secretary and then counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Canada. After that, till 1972, he again worked at the Foreign Ministry in Moscow. From 1972 to 1978 he was counsellor and then counsellor-envoy at the U.S.S.R. embassy in Britain.

In 1979-84 he held the post of deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's second European department, and in 1984-87, he was Soviet ambassador to Singapore.

Vladimir Semyonov is the holder of government decorations.

Smiles in the land of the quetzal?

From our special correspondent
VLADIMIR DOLGOV

When I was a boy I read a book "Smiling Guatemala." In it the author expressed warm admiration for this characteristic trait of the Guatemalans. It seemed to him that everyone was smiling. As I prepared for my trip to Guatemala I could not help but wonder whether the long period of military dictatorships had not eliminated that distinctive smile.

In 1954 the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency hired a handful of local "colonels" to overthrow the government of the lawfully elected President Jacobo Arbenz. The country was plunged into an ordeal of terror rule.

The military were competent only in enforcing a reign of terror, but not in managing the economy. An economic crisis was imminent. Production was declining and unemployment soaring. Even the bourgeoisie was dissatisfied with the situation and urged restoration of democracy if only in a limited form. Such sentiments were manifest even among some of the military.

Of course, they had no intention of wholly relinquishing power. However, the situation both inside and outside the country demanded the holding of presidential and congressional elections in December 1985.

The second round was won by Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, leader of the Christian Democratic Party. The Christian Democrats secured a majority of 51 seats out of 100 in Congress. Half the alcaldes (mayors) in the 330 municipalities were Christian Democrats as well. Vinicio Cerezo, who became head of state on January 14, 1986, won because voters were tired of political coercion, and he had promised to restore human rights, democratize the regime, get the country out of the economic crisis and, in the sphere of international affairs, maintain good relations "with the whole world."

Government measures

Roberto Carpio Nicolle, Vice-President of Guatemala, kindly received me at his residence, in a large hall with graceful columns.

The future of this Guatemalan Indian woman's baby boy depends on whether the country will be able to slough off the burden of the past.

From the National Geographic (U.S.)

"As I see it," the Vice-President said, "the social structures are undergoing changes in our country. They are being reappraised and new values worthy of the nation are being created. This process began several years ago, and we are now reaping the fruits of new Guatemalan thinking at all levels. The Christian Democratic Party has openly announced to the people that it wishes to change the country and lead it to democracy."

Roberto Carpio Nicolle said that on the whole the army is in favour of democratization. Vinicio Cerezo, who is a civilian president, has made new appointments to the posts of Minister for National Defence, Chief of the Army General Staff, and chief of military intelligence, as well as to the command of the more important garrisons. Army officers have been removed from key ministerial posts, and replaced by technocrats appointed by the head of state. Most of the governors are now civilians. However, in keeping with an agreement with the military, the latter continue to hold power in several big departments, including Peten which is rich in oil.

The Vice-President compared the government's measures in the economic sphere with a surgeon's scalpel. Though both cause pain, they are being used for the same purpose, to help the patient. He said that the measures taken had helped somewhat to stabilize the quetzal—the national currency—and curb inflation.

In La Hora I read an article entitled "Guatemala, city in crisis, country in crisis." A third of the country's nine million people live in the capital. Three quarters of its industries and trade are concentrated there as well. Despite this, jobs are scarce. Forty-five per cent of the able-bodied inhabitants of the capital are wholly or partly unemployed. Living conditions in the countryside are even worse, and approximately 12,000 families move to towns every year in pursuit of a mirage of happiness. Seventy-three per cent of the country's population are officially classed as poor, with one in two living in dire poverty. So far, 1987 has held no promise of improvement for ordinary Guatemalans.

The weight of harassing problems

Half the population are Indians, the country's aborigines. There are 22 ethnic groups, all of which speak different languages or dialects. The biggest of these are the Quiche and Cakchiquele. They live in communes scattered all over the mountainous part of the country and in the department of Peten, which in the remote past was inhabited by the Maya. The Indians are mainly engaged in farming and are subjected to the most relentless exploitation. However, the discovery of rich oil deposits in Peten proved to be a calamity for them. To please the oil tycoons they were driven from their ancestral lands. Punitive squads wiped out whole villages. To save their lives, thousands of indigenous Guatemalans fled to neighbouring Mexico.

Touring the country I visited Chi-

choy, a most beautiful place with a small restaurant and a shop with local curiosities for tourists. The restaurant was run by a Quiche family. Here I learned that every Monday Indian women, widows of the victims of mass reprisals in 1982, come from remote places to sell their wares—clothing and other items—at the shop, buy food and discuss their affairs together. Replying to my questions, a woman who worked at the restaurant and hardly spoke any Spanish told me that several years ago people were killed off en masse here, because they were regarded as enemies of the regime. At present, she said, all was quiet.

And indeed I gathered from contacts with Guatemalans and reports in the press that the wave of violence has subsided noticeably. In accordance with one of President Vinicio Cerezo's first orders, the Technical Investigation Department—the secret police—which organized the massacre of recalcitrant elements, has been abolished. It was reported that 600 agents in the department were arrested. Though they were questioned, no serious charges were brought against them, and they were released. Furthermore, many former secret police officers are now serving in the national police.

Public opinion in Guatemala demanded that the President investigate the "disappearance" of some 30,000 people under the military dictatorships, and try the military personnel responsible for the murder of innocent people (as has been done in Argentina). But the Christian Democratic government refused to do this, as the army still wields considerable power and influence.

At the same time armed right-wing squads are still active. Not infrequently the press reports cases of people being murdered for political motives. According to the police, during the first seven months after President Cerezo assumed power, 400 people were either murdered or reported "missing," including members of the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

Guatemala is an agrarian country. The majority of the population is engaged in farming. However, it is the rural population that is suffering most from the extremely unfair distribution of land. Landless peasants are compelled to work as labourers for the landlords. Guatemala is characterized by the highest degree of concentration of land in the hands of latifundists in the whole of Latin America. Five per cent of the population own 80 per cent of the land. Despite this, the Christian Democratic government would not even discuss agrarian reform. Instead they have proposed an "integral development plan" for the countryside.

When I interviewed Vice-President Roberto Carpio Nicolle, I asked him about this. However, I could not help feeling that the subject occasioned him some discomfort.

"Agrarian reform," he said, "is a political rather than an economic question. We are going much further in our quest and are looking for ways of general development for our peasants. That is why we have included a whole series of articles taking account of the interests of the countryside in our new constitution. A national development council has been set up. The development programme will apply even to the most remote villages. Local, municipal development councils are being established."

Active neutrality

Ana Maria Gonzalez Saenz, a member of Congress for the National Revolutionary Party and a member of the commission for Central American integration, told me that, during its first year in office, the Cerezo government had been successful only in the area of foreign policy. She meant in particular the policy of "active neutrality" with respect to the problems of Central America. However, this course has given rise to contradictions in Guatemalan political and business quarters since the interests of some are confined to the region, while others have close links with the United States.

In his inaugural address President Cerezo declared his intention to maintain relations "with the whole world." It is worth noting that his first official visit was to Western Europe, and not to the U.S. He has reestablished diplomatic relations with Great Britain. In February 1987 a meeting of members of the European Economic Community, the Contadora group and Central American states was held in Guatemala City. The meeting adopted documents backing the efforts of the Contadora group for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region, and promoting economic cooperation between the EEC and the Central American countries, Nicaragua among them.

At the moment there is no evidence of a violent anti-Nicaraguan campaign. The authorities have been trying to prevent this happening. However, in Guatemala there is an active contra group from the Nicaraguan Opposition Union, which enjoys the support of local right-wingers, including some of the military. At a news conference leaders of the right-wing Guatemalan National Liberation Movement party spoke in favour of a crusade against Nicaragua and declared their readiness to back the contras with 8,000 armed fighters, who are now being trained at one of the bases. On the following day the government made an official statement banning the training of "volunteers" in Guatemala, as this was contrary to its policy of neutrality.

Guatemala has proposed creating a Central American Parliament along the lines of the European Parliament. Commenting on this, President Cerezo said such a parliament would help strengthen peace. Its members would be able freely to discuss and analyze the situation and resolve the region's problems without external intervention. The first step was made in May 1986, when the presidents of the Central American states met in Esquipulas, which is situated where the frontiers of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras meet. They formed a preparatory committee in which all these countries are represented. Nicaragua also favours the idea of a regional parliament. However, quarters opposed to a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict are trying to erect obstacles to this.

Late last month Vinicio Cerezo made a state visit to Managua for talks with President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua. The leaders of both countries agreed that peace in the region could be achieved only on the basis of respect for international law. They reaffirmed their support for talks under the aegis of the Contadora group.

My time in Guatemala was running out. What were my conclusions? I thought the ordeal which had beset the country over a period of many years was abating, albeit very slowly. That is why smiles seldom lighten the faces of the Guatemalans. The tears of widows and mothers for their murdered and "missing" husbands and sons have not yet dried. The butchers responsible for these tragedies have not been punished. Today there are fewer such tragedies. However, acts of political violence still take place here and there. His Grace Prospero Penados del Barrio, Archbishop of Guatemala, believes the source of the evil to be that, while the majority of the population lives in extreme poverty, the government is not paying due attention to urgent economic problems.

The people are voicing their protest, striking and fighting for their rights. It is not for nothing that the Guatemalans have chosen quetzal as their national symbol. This freedom-loving bird, which lives in a desert selva, perishes in captivity. In some areas there are active guerrilla detachments that have not laid down their arms. They are prepared to engage in a dialogue with the authorities, but for this a democratic atmosphere is necessary. Not all quarters want this. Indeed, the senior military are unequivocally opposed to a dialogue.

Much has yet to be done before amity is established on Guatemalan soil, and the hard-working and friendly Guatemalans would smile openly and radiantly.

Guatemala City—Managua

Across the ocean on skis

VLADIMIR SNEGIREV and DMITRY SHPARO

On March 3, 1981, Soviet newspapers carried a report that four Canadians had set off on skis for the North Pole. They hoped to be the first to reach it without resorting to dog-sledges or help from the air. The group was led by the 35-year-old clergyman Laurie Dexter.

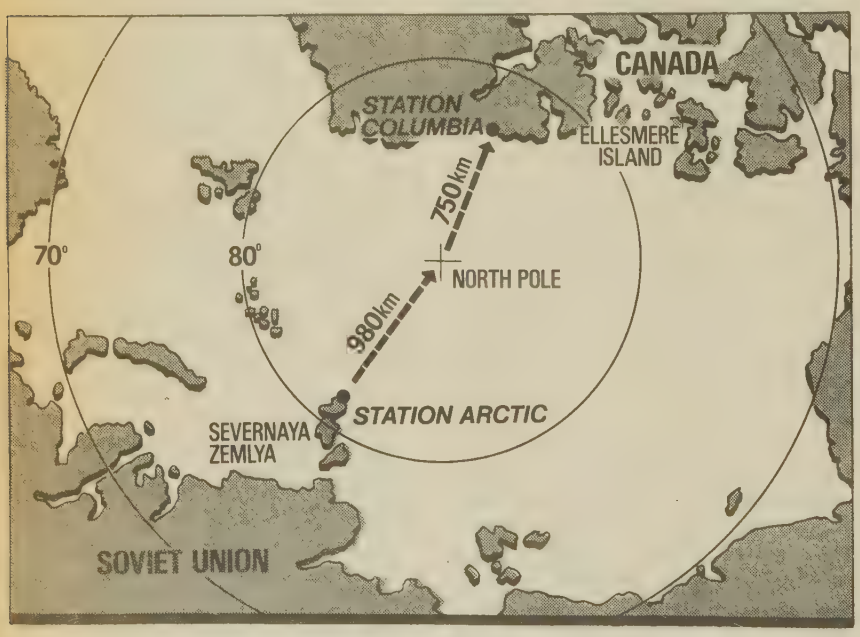
A week later it was learned that their attempt had failed, and all four had had to return.

That was 6 years ago. Now we were in Ottawa, scouring the telephone directories for Dexter's number. We had come to get the Canadian government's consent to a skiing expedition from the shores of the Soviet Union, across the North Pole to Canada. We were also looking for Canadians who would take part in such an expedition. So when we found Dexter's number and phoned him, we asked him if he would be prepared to participate.

From his home in Fort Smith up in the north of Canada, Dexter flew to Ottawa. We met. He held a Russian textbook in his hands. The idea had fired his imagination. At a news conference for Canadian journalists Laurie pointed out that sport brings people closer together. Hockey matches and other contests are, of course, one way in which this friendship is manifested. But in any contest, each side strives for victory, and so in fact they are rivals. However in a 90-day expedition from Station Arctic in the Severnaya Zemlya archipelago to Station Columbia on Ellesmere Island we woudn't be rivals. Throughout the dangerous 1,800-kilometre journey across the ice floes we would be helping each other.

Laurie was right. A journey across the Arctic Ocean on skis—from the Soviet Union to Canada—would be a journey of friendship and cooperation. That, as we saw it, was the essence of the expedition. One other thing. With muscular strength inherited from his forefathers and equipped with modern knowledge and the latest achievements of science and technology, man today can stand up to the hardships and trials imposed by the severe Arctic Ocean.

There were four of us in Canada: Mikhail Malakhov, a surgeon with a Candidate's degree in medical science; Arkadi Cherkasov, senior researcher at the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, with a Candidate's degree in geographical sciences; and the authors of this article—Vladimir Snegirev, deputy editor-in-chief of Komsomolskaya Pravda, and Dmitri Shparo, Assistant Professor at the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, with a Candidate's degree in physics and mathematics. A doctor, a geographer, a journalist and a mathematician—a rather unusual combination for a delegation. But with good reason.



The route of the planned Soviet-Canadian Arctic expedition.

For many years there has been a public arctic expedition at the offices of Komsomolskaya Pravda. It is headed by Shparo, with Malakhov as its doctor. Now a special committee has been set up for the coming Trans-Arctic expedition. Snegirev, who led our delegation to Canada, is deputy chairman of the committee, and Cherkasov, who knows Canada well and speaks both English and French, the delegation's expert and interpreter.

The idea for the journey across the Arctic Ocean was born on May 31, 1979, when the seven skiers of the Komsomolskaya Pravda Arctic expedition completed their unprecedented 1,500-kilometre journey from the Soviet coast to the North Pole. Their successful 76-day struggle against drift ice provided the inspiration. From the top of the planet we were able to visualize the continents and countries washed by the Arctic Ocean: the Soviet Union, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Canada and the United States. Practically half the meridians stretched south to the shores of our country, and a quarter to those of Canada. And it was only a mere 750 kilometres to North America.

50 years ago, in 1937, the Soviet pilot Valeri Chkalov blazed a new trail by flying from the Soviet Union to North America across the North Pole. We believe we can follow that trail on skis.

The years that have elapsed since then have been years of training and new victories. The most recent was on January 29 of last year, when 11 members of the Komsomolskaya Pravda Arctic expedition started off from North Pole-26, the Soviet drifting research station. It was the depth of the polar night, and darkness enveloped hummocky icefields.

We set our course for the point known as the pole of relative inaccessibility with the coordinates of latitude 184° north and longitude 175° west. And on

February 15 we reached that point. No less than 1,300 kilometres separated us from the nearest coast—Soviet, Canadian or any other. We stood at the natural centre of the Arctic Ocean. And we were the first to have reached it on skis. On March 7 we completed our journey at North Pole-27.

Scientific research is also envisaged in the coming Trans-Arctic expedition—both medico-biological and glaciological. From the Soviet side this programme and the expedition itself will be financed by our scientific research institutes. Estimates put expenses at not more than 200,000 rubles.

But what will the U.S.S.R.-Canada transocean ski marathon be like? According to our plans, on March 1, 1988, a team of 11 will start from Station Arctic: 8-9 Soviet skiers and 2-3 Canadians. We shall carry 40-kilogram packs on our backs containing: inflatable dinghies, radio equipment, accumulators, scientific equipment, warm clothing, food, cooking facilities, fuel and a tent. There will be two radiobuoys from the international space system for rescue at sea COSPAS-SARSAT, one for emergency use only and the other for navigational purposes. We shall maintain daily radio communication with the continent, through intermediate bases in the Arctic where radio hams—also participants in the expedition—will be listening to us.

After 10-12 days, we shall stop for a 1-2 day rest. An aircraft will fly out to us, drop parachutes with food and fuel. The parachutes will be used to cover the tent and provide additional warmth. We expect them to bring the temperature up to zero or even higher. We shall be able to rest, and have baths....

The medico-biological programme excludes any ice-landing of aircraft in our camp—our only contact with the rest of the world will be by radio....

In Canada we found support and approval for our plans. A senior official at the Department of External Affairs, Alan McLaine, let us know that in principle the Canadian authorities agreed to such an expedition. In the Canadian sector of the Arctic Ocean, Canadian planes would drop supplies, and in our sector, Soviet aircraft. Both Canadian and Soviet radio hams would join in radio duty, and the medical and glaciological research programmes would be joint ones. In other words, both sides would be represented on an equal footing.

...One evening a remarkable company gathered in our hotel room: Hans and Richard Weber — father and son, Roy and Anna Koerner — husband and wife, and the four of us. Five of the eight had been to the North Pole: Hans Weber, a Canadian polar expert, on a plane; his 28-year-old son Richard, an engineer — last year with the American-Canadian expedition on dog-sledges; Roy Koerner, from the Geological Survey of Canada, had been a member of the British expedition led by Wally Herbert, well known in the Soviet Union, which had crossed the Arctic Ocean from Alaska to Spitsbergen on dog-sledges in 1968-69 (Roy brought with him his suggestions for the joint glaciological programme). And the authors of this article had spent three triumphant days at the North Pole in 1979.

The Soviet expedition at the North Pole on May 31, 1979, after a 1,500-km trek.

Like Laurie Dexter, Richard Weber is one of Canada's candidates for next year's expedition.

We visited Toronto, Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa. To sum up, in Ottawa we met official Canadian representatives (we were received by Otto J. Jelinek, Minister of State Fitness and Amateur Sport, Arthur J. Epp, Minister of National Health and Welfare, John M.R. Stone, Director of the Bureau of International Relations of the National Research Council, and officials and experts of the Department of External Affairs). It was in Ottawa too that we met Richard and Laurie. The highlight of our Toronto stay was the meeting with Prof. Roy Shephard. The medical institute of the University of Toronto which he heads could become a partner of the Soviet medical institutions responsible for the expedition's medico-biological programme.

We recall with pleasure our cordial meeting with the Mayor of Toronto, Art Eggleton, also attended by Michael Lucas, President of the Canada-U.S.S.R. Association. Later, in the association's cinema hall, we showed our film "To the Pole" about the 1979 expedition.

In Quebec we continued our contacts with scientists. And here a very pleasant surprise awaited us. From the town of Matane, some 400 kilometres away, three young Canadians had come to see us. Jacques Bouffard, Gilbert Rioux and Claude Duguay were members of the 5-man Canadian team that last year scaled Mt. Communism.

It had been reported in the Soviet press, but their names were not given. Since Mt. Communism, the 7,000-metre mountain is in the Pamirs, Central Asia, and has nothing to do with the Arctic, we did not think of contacting the mountain-climbers. But they did, and they tracked us down. The day we met was Gilbert's birthday and we expressed the hope that his next birthday would find us together again.

In Montreal when our trip was drawing to a close, many people got in touch with us in the hope of joining the expedition. We also had scientific contacts. But most important of all was our visit to the major firm Lavalin, which has extensive and developing business ties with our country. We were received by the vice-president, Clément Richard. The company is prepared to act as financial sponsor from the Canadian side.

Ahead of us lie preparations, not easy ones by any means. We shall be expecting our Canadian friends so as to get in some joint training. Preliminary meetings of scientists and radio hams will take place in both the Soviet Union and Canada.

The difficult and demanding expedition requires careful, thorough and patient preparation. It is pleasant to know that it will serve to bring two neighbouring nations—Canada and the Soviet Union—into closer contact. ■

Dave Brubeck:

A dream come true

Photo by A. Kostin

The last chord had hardly died away when the audience exploded with applause. At each of the five performances in the Rossiya concert hall the quartet led by U.S. pianist and composer Dave Brubeck, one of the apostles of modern jazz, was given the same ecstatic reception.

Of course, we've heard recordings of his music. Many of his pieces have become classics for jazz musicians and fans alike. His brilliant, expressive playing has distinguished him from other jazz pianists and won him enthusiastic admirers in the U.S. and, indeed, worldwide. His unusual, sometimes bizarre cadences and striking rhythms call for creative participation even on the part of those who are accustomed to thinking of jazz as a relaxation.

"Jazz has its own musical language," said Brubeck. "Its main feature is improvisation, so that every musician can express his individuality during the performance to the fullest degree. But what you've heard once will never be repeated exactly as it was. The main theme at the start and the close of a particular piece can be recognized, of course, and you can sing the melody—but the body of a jazz piece, the middle part, depends on a variety of factors: something what happened to you during the day, or the acoustics of a particular auditorium can influence the performance, or the mood the musician is in, but the main thing is of course the audience's response. The fifth—and most important—member of our quartet is always the audience."

"What is your first impression of the reaction of Moscow audiences? Are you aware of any difference between them and jazz fans back home?"

"A terrific audience!" Bill Smith, the clarinettist, and an old friend of Brubeck's (they have been playing together since 1947) put in. "They are good listeners, very attentive and sensitive to what we're playing, and their applause is very encouraging and proves that we are in complete rapport with your jazz fans. It's very important for us to communicate with a Russian audience."

"I was very surprised at how aware the audience was of my music. They recognized many of the songs I played immediately," Dave Brubeck added. "As a performer I also throw in what we call 'quotes'—and from the audience's reaction I know they are tuned in to a whole period in jazz. I do that to find out where they are, while I interweave some well-known and less well-known themes from earlier periods."

"Have you ever had the opportunity to hear Soviet jazz performers?"

"The Vyacheslav Ganelin jazz trio came on tour to the U.S.," Brubeck told me. "They are interesting, original musicians who were very well received. We do not know of others so we have probably to see each other more often. When we played at the composers' club in Moscow I met some excellent young musicians during the jam session. For example, saxophonist Igor Butman, and Alexey Kuznetsov, who played the guitar. I think we have to let people in both our countries meet and listen to as many jazz performers as possible."

"What impression have you had of the Soviet people?"

"The people I've talked to here are very excited about the changes under way in the U.S.S.R.," said Chris Brubeck, Dave's son. "Many think Gorbachev's new ideas are going to change things both in and outside the country; to establish new relationships in your society and get ordinary people more involved. The situation in the artistic world seems to have changed too. Some people here say, though, that musicians in the U.S. can do much better than here. I can tell you from my own experience that if, for some reason, you don't get the public's attention, if you're not a success, it's quite hard to make a living as a musician."

"Do you think your concert tour in the U.S.S.R. will to some extent improve relations between our countries?"

"There is no doubt about it, as far as relations between people are concerned," Dave Brubeck said. But as for our politicians and mass media, they should make conscious efforts in this direction themselves. One of the American correspondents who came to talk with us after our first concert in Moscow gave an example of just this. (I was told, by the way, that three American TV networks are covering my tour.) The question he asked me was: 'How does it feel to play for the enemy?'... And my answer was that we were allies once and could be allies again, we could work together, and that I've been with Russians before, in 1945 in Munich and Nuremberg, when I was in the army. And when I'd finished he said: 'All your answers were wonderful.'"

In this connection I recalled Dave Brubeck's words quoted on the concert programme. To come to the Soviet Union and perform here, he said, was an old dream of his come true. Listening to our music he often felt a spiritual affinity with the Russian people and I hoped we feel the same towards his people.

VLADIMIR BOTNIKOV

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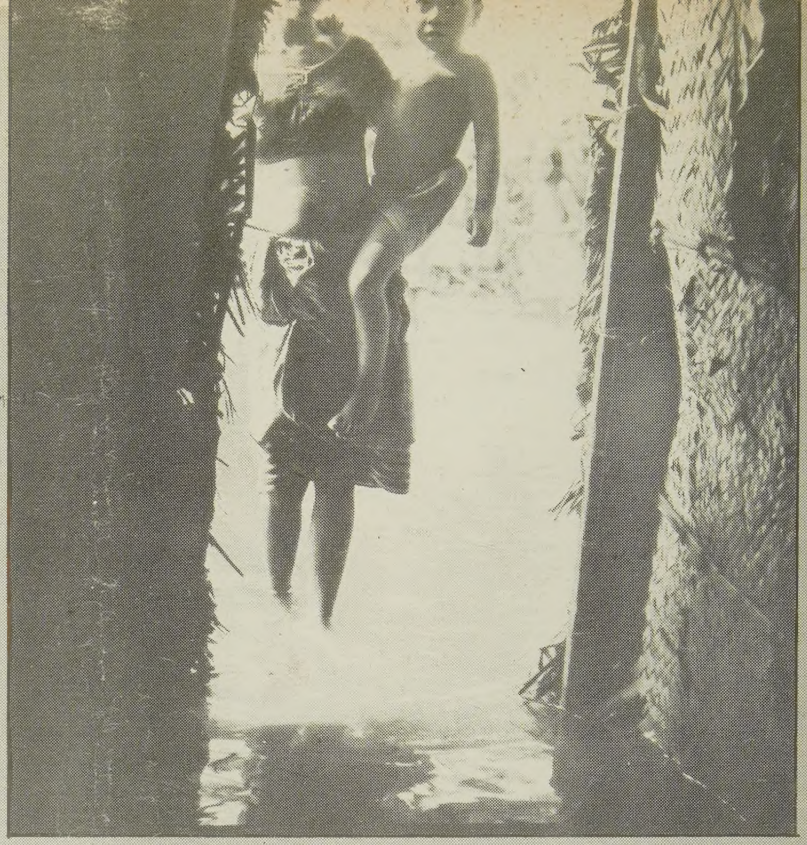

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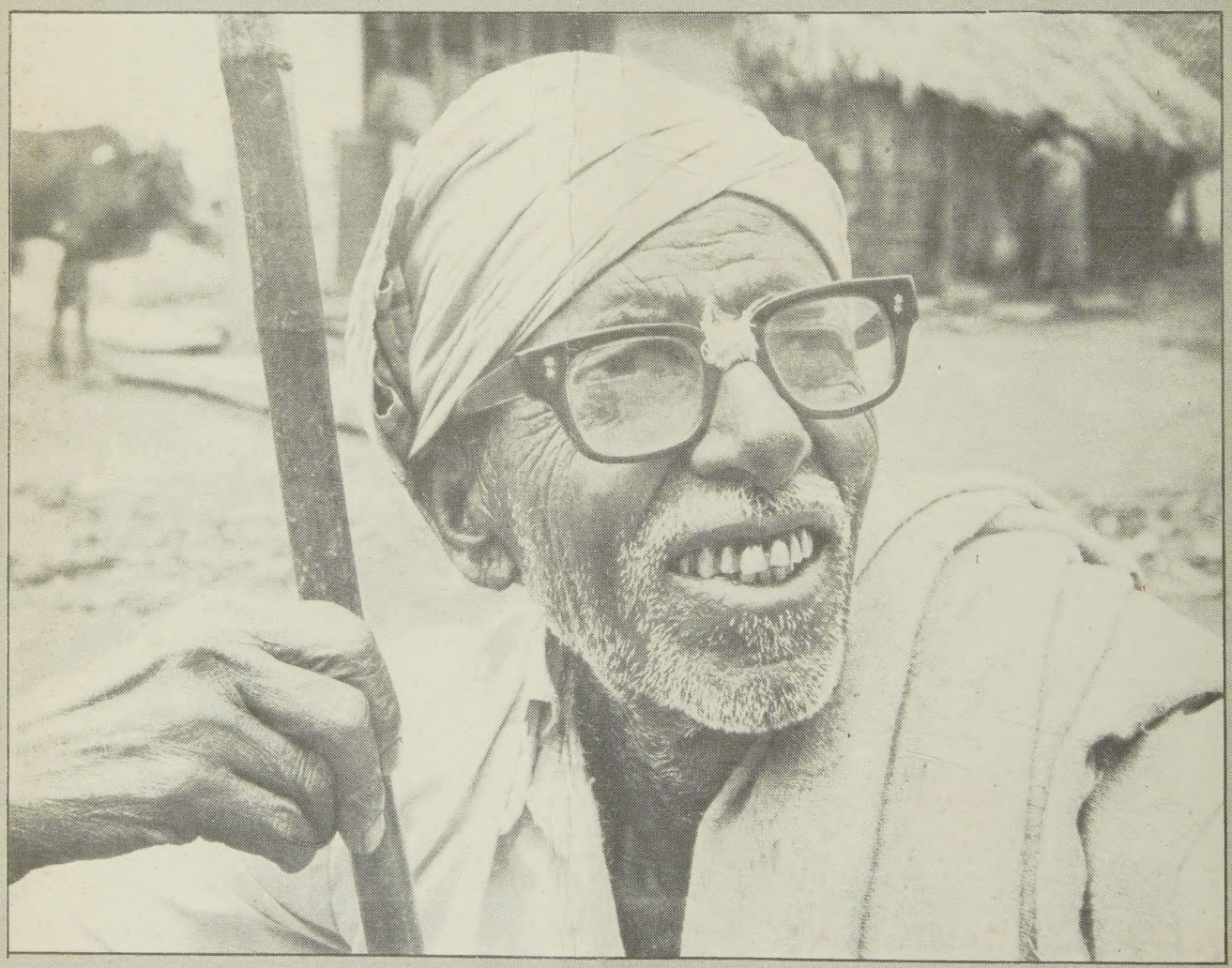

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